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16 Chesham Place.
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May 18 1902

Dear Lord Hawtrey

As you said you
would like to see
Archdeacon Dennis's
letters I have
much pleasure

in sending for a copy
of the book.

It is pleasant to hear
of people caring &
read them & I hope
you will not find
them very dry, for
they contain rather
a big dose of controversy.

Matter

3rd year

Latin & Greek

FIFTY YEARS AT EAST BRENT
1845-1896



G. A. Dismore

FIFTY YEARS AT EAST BRENT
THE LETTERS OF GEORGE
ANTHONY DENISON

1845-1896

ARCHDEACON OF TAUNTON

EDITED BY HIS NIECE

LOUISA EVELYN DENISON

WITH PORTRAIT AND ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET

1902

PREFACE

THE life of George Anthony Denison, Archdeacon of Taunton, was so intimately connected with the work of the Church of England, subsequent to the Oxford Movement, and with the course of the development of the High Church Party during the latter half of the nineteenth century, that it is thought that his letters would be interesting to those who are concerned in Church matters, and who are now labouring in the cause to which all his energies were devoted, of preserving in the heart and life of the people of England the religious teaching transmitted through successive generations by her Church.

His long life was spent in "contending for the Faith once delivered to the Saints," his straightforward fearless character admitted of no changes or concessions with the view of making the Truth more palatable and easy to be accepted in a freethinking and scientific age. His steady determination never wavered, he never allowed himself to be drawn by the opinion of others one hairs-breadth to the right or to the left of the path which he had marked out for himself and which he considered to be the right one; and, though he was constantly left in a minority, there is little doubt that the amount of liberty to which the Church of England has attained in the last years, in regard to the expression of her Doctrine and Ritual, was a good deal helped forward by his indefatigable exertions.

Always a High Churchman, in the remote days when

High Churchmen were few in number, when the bulk of English people gloried in calling themselves Protestants, and the word Catholic was synonymous with Rome, Archdeacon Denison yet never became a thorough-going Ritualist. He valued Ritual in so far as it was the expression of Doctrine and enjoined by the Rubrics of the Prayer Book, but he never attached so much importance to it as did many of his friends, and often feared lest the thing signified should be lost sight of in the outward sign.

In later years his attention grew more and more riveted on the danger that the spread of Infidelity would be increased by the endeavour to reconcile the teachings of science with the Bible, and his opposition to what is called the New Criticism of the Bible, was most determined, culminating, as the last public act of his long life, in his separating himself from the English Church Union, to which he had belonged since it was first established, in 1859. This step was the result of the majority of the members having resolved that it was unadvisable to pass a public censure on the volume of Essays, edited by Canon Gore, under the title of "*Lux Mundi*."

Born 11th December 1805, and surviving till 21st March 1896, his life may be said to have extended over the whole of the nineteenth century. The first beginnings of High Church revival in England found him already in Priests' Orders, and with the whole force of his vigorous personality, he threw himself into the struggle. His strong and energetic nature often brought him into collision even with those with whom he most desired to act, but his faith and courage and rectitude of purpose cannot fail to be an example even to those from whose opinions he differed most widely.

George Anthony Denison was the fourth son of John Denison, Esq., of Ossington in Nottinghamshire, and his mother was Charlotte, daughter of Samuel Estwicke, Esq.

He was sent to Eton, and afterwards to Oxford, where he took a First Class in Classics in 1826, and subsequently became a Fellow of Oriel College. He was ordained in 1832, and in 1838 was given the living of Broadwinsor in Dorsetshire, where he remained until he went to East Brent. In the same year he married Georgiana, daughter of the Right Hon. J. W. Henley of Waterperry in Oxfordshire.

The present volume has no pretension whatever to give an account of Archdeacon Denison's life. The events that he considered worth recording in his career have already been published many years in his own words in a book entitled "Notes of my Life," and from a biographical point of view this collection of letters is not complete.

Any correspondence which passed before he was appointed Vicar of East Brent in Somersetshire, in 1845, at which time he was already forty years of age, appears to have been entirely destroyed. But this is of small consequence, as before that date he had been leading the ordinary life of a country clergyman at Broadwinsor, and had not taken any part in public matters.

It is, however, a pity that more of his correspondence with public men of a later date has not been forthcoming; but the omission is unavoidable, for, owing to his great age—he was ninety-one when he died—he had long outlived most of the contemporaries with whom he was in the habit of corresponding.

In these circumstances the available letters consist mainly of those written to relations, and notably to his wife—to whom, when he came to London to attend the meetings of Convocation, he daily wrote an account of what was going on there—to his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Phillimore, and to his nephew, Sir Walter Phillimore.

Besides these, Viscount Halifax has kindly contributed all the letters written to him relating to the English Church

Union, and Canon Liddon's Executors sent what few they found among Dr Liddon's papers.

For some years prior to 1870 Archdeacon Denison kept copies in a book of any letters that he considered important. Several of these have been transcribed, but apparently as time went on he left off keeping copies. This leaves us for his later years only those letters which were addressed to his then small circle of friends. Many of these are, however, very graphic, and will recall him vividly to those who knew him, revealing the loving tenderness of his nature, the depth and sincerity of his religious convictions, and the fearless outspoken expressions of dissent from those who did not share fully in all his views, or in his methods of carrying them into effect.

The book is called "Fifty Years at East Brent," because the dates of the letters coincide with the half-century spent there by Archdeacon Denison, and to all those who knew him the place seems filled with the memory of his presence there. It will be noticed that, although he was so continually occupied with public matters, most of the letters are dated from East Brent, and the fact is that he rarely left his home. When he did, it was generally on business, and a holiday in the ordinary sense he seldom took.

The life at East Brent was patriarchal in its simplicity. The Archdeacon always rose very early—in summer often about four or five A.M.—and would work in his garden or greenhouse until the bell summoned him to church at eight o'clock. Nothing was ever allowed to interfere with the daily worship of God in church, both morning and evening; and when he was overtaken by the infirmities of old age, and almost too weak to leave the house, the path through the garden and churchyard would still be trodden on cold frosty mornings and dark snowy evenings, while the fine sunshiny part of the day would be spent busily writing by his study fire, and in still later days, when

altogether deprived of the power of walking, he used to be carried to church in his chair, and preached to his people from a seat on the steps of the chancel.

East Brent lies in the flat pasture country of Somerset, a country of grass fields and orchards, separated by wide ditches instead of hedges, but just over the village rises the steep isolated hill called Brent Knoll, dominating all the flat country round, from whose summit a wide view extends, bounded on the north by the Mendip Hills, on the south by the Quantocks, while towards the west the eye ranges far away over the Bristol Channel, to where the setting sun disappears behind the distant Welsh mountains.

On the side of this hill are the waterworks constructed by Archdeacon Denison to give his parishioners a good supply of water ; at the foot of it are the fields in which the annual "Harvest Homes," which became a great feature in East Brent life, took place, and hard by, adjoining the churchyard, is the school in which no Government Inspector was ever allowed to show his face. To this extent did Archdeacon Denison carry his objection to secular education.

As in the management of the school, so in the arrangement of Church services there were local and peculiar features. It was the opinion of the Archdeacon that it was impossible to have good singing in a country village without the help of women's voices. The surpliced choir, therefore, usually considered a necessary adjunct of High Church services, did not exist, but old and young men, women and boys, sat together in the organ-loft, whence their voices, blending with the lovely strains elicited from the organ by the beautiful playing of the Rev. Henry Denison, the Archdeacon's nephew and coadjutor, produced an effect never to be forgotten, so earnest and yet so joyous that one felt that the hearts of the congregation

must be carried along by it, and in fact many people came from distant villages attracted by the beauty of the services.

Archdeacon Denison's birthday was always celebrated by the whole of the choir being invited to dine with him, and owing to its heterogeneous composition, the result was a very lively party. After a substantial meal in the dining-room, shared by all the family, the young men and maidens danced in the drawing-room, the little boys played at various games in another room, where also in one corner the Archdeacon played whist with the elders of the party.

Such trivial incidents are perhaps not worth recording, but they linger in the memory with an affectionate interest as illustrating the atmosphere of peace and goodwill to others that seemed always to permeate the life of the Vicarage at East Brent.

The Archdeacon revived the old English custom of Harvest Home on such a scale as to make it a festivity that was enjoyed and participated in by all the country round.

He bestowed much care and thought on the temporal welfare of his parishioners. The village had often suffered from epidemics of illness, owing to the want of a supply of good water; so at great trouble and expense he constructed waterworks to bring pure water to the village from springs in the adjoining hill, Brent Knoll, much to the benefit of the health of the inhabitants.

One of his letters, written in 1891, when he was eighty-six years old, mentions that he was then attending a weekly Committee at Bridgewater for administering relief to sufferers by the floods in Somerset. In 1894, at the age of eighty-nine, he wrote that he was going through the Local Government Act in order to be able to inform his

people upon it, and mentioned that he hoped to be present at the first meeting of the Parish Council, showing the paternal interest that he took up to the last in the affairs of his parishioners.

I have preferred in this short preface to touch on the home life of Archdeacon Denison at East Brent rather than to enter into the doctrinal and controversial matters which form the subject of most of the letters; on the merits of these, readers must judge for themselves.

In conclusion, I wish to record my thanks to those who have kindly helped me in the compilation of this volume by contributing the letters in their possession, and especially to Viscount Halifax, who placed the whole of his correspondence with Archdeacon Denison at my disposal, and to Miss Lucy Phillimore, to whom I am indebted for most of the explanatory notes.

LOUISA EVELYN DENISON.

November, 1901.

1860-1869.

- Opinion on "Essays and Reviews"—Condemnation of Book by Convocation—First Note of Anxiety about Ritual—"Ecce Homo"—"Full of Worst Disbelief and Worst Delusions"—Keble College—Letter to Mr Disraeli about "Conscience Clause"—Private Confession—Ritual Commission—Government Education Bill—Irish Church Suspensory Bill—Edward Denison: Election for Newark—Case of *Martin v. Mackonochie* 78-108

1870-1873.

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- During 1870, Archdeacon Denison has a long and dangerous illness—When beginning to recover, Letters pass between him and Mr Gladstone—Writes about Education Question—Intellect and Faith—Endowed Schools—Visits Ossington, his old home—The Speaker's Retirement—Defends Athanasian Creed—Case of *Sheppard v. Bennett*—Illness and Death of his Eldest Brother, Lord Ossington—Confession—Publishes Pamphlet "Episcopatus Bilinguis"—Bath Church Congress—Writes to Father Newman 109-136

1874.

- Writes to many friends as to the Measure called "Public Worship Regulation Act," described by Mr Disraeli, then Premier, as "An Act for putting down Ritualism"—Despite its partisan character, it is carried by the help of Government—Efforts of the Archdeacon to prevent the Bill from passing, and afterwards to neutralise its effect—Brighton Church Congress—Meeting at Oxford 137-172

1875-1878.

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 1891. Endeavours to rouse Convocation about "Lux Mundi" —Also to move English Church Union to take action in the same matter—Publishes a "Letter" on the subject—Attends large Political Meeting at Bridgewater—Publishes Sermons on the subject of "Lux Mundi"—With the Rev. B. Compton and some other Friends, prepares a "Declaration."
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 1894. Studies Local Government Act.
 1895. Writes to Young Friend "Greek the Grindstone of the Intellect, Latin the Whetstone"—Commemoration of his Fifty Years' Incumbency of East Brent—Restoration of the Churchyard Cross.
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EAST BRENT CHURCH FROM VICARAGE GARDEN.

ARCHDEACON DENISON

1845-1852.

THE living of East Brent, in Somersetshire, was given in 1845, to the Rev. George Anthony Denison, by his brother, Edward Denison, Bishop of Salisbury, who was at that time administering the Diocese of Bath and Wells (in addition to his own) during the incapacity of Bishop Law.

The first letters refer to Mr Denison's removal to East Brent from Broadwinsor, in Dorsetshire, of which he had previously been Vicar, and also to a visitation tour made by the Bishop of Salisbury, whom he accompanied as Chaplain. He had acted in this capacity during his residence at Broadwinsor, and he continued to do so until 1848.

In 1849, the question of Education, and that of the Parliamentary Control of Church Schools (in which throughout his

whole life he took the keenest interest) first appear in a letter to Sir W. Miles, while several letters are concerned with those different "Church Unions," which at this time were first springing into life, and forming the basis on which the "English Church Union" was founded later on.

In 1850, the case of Mr Gorham was a subject of grave anxiety. Bishop Phillpots (of Exeter) had refused to institute him to a living in his diocese, on account of his denial of the Doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration.

In September 1851, Mr Denison was made Archdeacon of Taunton by Bishop Bagot of Bath and Wells.

During this year and 1852, he was constantly occupied with the School question, and fought stoutly for "Management in the Clergyman only," as will be seen in letters to Mr Gladstone, and to other friends.

At the end of 1852, Convocation met again, after having been suspended for more than a hundred years.

In the December of the same year Archdeacon Denison wrote to Mr Gladstone, explaining that, in consequence of the latter having accepted office in the new Coalition Government, he felt obliged to withdraw his support from him at the Oxford University Election.

*To Mrs G. Denison*¹

EAST BRENT, 14th September 1845.

Not long come back from evening church—a good congregation both morning and evening, but much largest in the evening. I hope it may last, but—— The church is certainly very nice, and lights up very prettily. . . .

Forty or fifty children in all at the Sunday-School. . . .

Altogether, my visit has been very satisfactory, and I am quite in good heart about the place, and I trust very thankful. . . .

¹ His wife, Georgiana, daughter of Right Hon. J. Henley and of Georgiana, daughter of Col. Fane.

BROADWINSOR,¹ 18th September 1845.

The weather seems likely to beat me entirely, so far as leave-taking is concerned—this is the third day of such a storm and tempest as I have rarely seen, even in this place. I managed, however, to go to all the people in the village yesterday afternoon, and great kindness and regrets I met with. . . .

The first waggon went off yesterday afternoon—you see I don't lose time—one of the carters made me laugh—"I say, Tom, see how wet my shift is." I coddled them up with brandy, and hope they went off sober. . . .

TAUNTON, *Sunday Evening.*

I meant to have been at Bridgewater to-night, but my lamps went out, and I did not fancy venturing through the flood in the dark, so I came on here. . . .

It is a great relief to me that this day is past. I got through it better than I expected. I cannot be sufficiently thankful for the great kindness and many regrets that I have met with on all hands—and the thought of God's great goodness to me, and that my wife was thinking of me and praying for me, kept me up, and I did on the whole better than I expected to have done.

To Mrs G. Denison

EVERLEY, *Wednesday Night, 11th.*

We have had such a funny evening here that I must give you an account of it before I go to bed. Two days ago Lady Astley asked Edward² to come here. We arrived, by our time, at six, were told that it was half-past six, that dinner was at seven, and were turned off to our rooms by the servants, nobody appearing to receive us. We settled that it must needs be a very punctual house, and made great haste to dress, and down we went—found in the drawing-room two children, eight and five years old—conversed with them a whole hour without any sign of other inhabitants. I romped with the boy, and made a

¹ His first living in Dorsetshire. ~~Three~~ miles W. by N. of Beaminster.

² His elder brother Edward Denison, Bishop of Salisbury, 1837-1854.

large hole in his velvet frock. Just after it struck eight Lady Astley appeared, apologising for Sir Francis' non-appearance—he was out hunting or shooting—she did not seem to know very well where he was—she expected fully an uncle and a nephew and two near neighbours to dine. However nobody came, and so we went in to dinner, and I sat at the bottom of the table, which was laid for eight, Edward and Lady Astley being at the top—so we dined, and so we passed the evening.

She was a Miss Lethbridge, a very beautiful woman, which she is still. . . .

I should judge from what she said that, as often as not, she waited dinner till eight or nine o'clock in the hunting season, which must be an exceeding nuisance.

What has become of the other expected guests, we have no idea—the uncle and nephew were to come across the downs, and as there is a fog and a drizzling rain, they are probably in a chalk-pit. This place is put down in the very centre of Salisbury Plain, sheltered by fir plantations, and is in itself sufficiently comfortable, but the access is most drear.

To Mrs G. Denison

MONTACUTE, *Wednesday Morning, 27th.*

Here we are in this grand old house—but, oh, dear me! how remarkably cold—what with five hours of continuous conversation with rather dull people, and occasional remarks from them that it was cold enough for a fire, without any approach to lighting one, I thought I should never have got through.

The house is very fine externally—inside very primitive, with great Ham stone staircase and no carpet or mat—big rooms, especially upstairs, very lofty and immense windows—it is very much out of repair—but young Mr Phelps means, as they say, to do a good deal to it.

We go about in great state, with four horses and two fat postillions in caps. . . .

What do you think of this proof of the hospitalities of Montacute?

“John,” said old Mr Phelps, “step down and bring up four hundred bottles of port wine,”

To Mrs G. Denison

ROUNDWAY.

They have two great curiosities in this house. The identical table-cloth on which dinner was laid for Queen Elizabeth when she dined with the Mayor of Bristol, an ancestor of the Colstons, and gave the freedom of the city to the Bristol women to bestow on any one who should marry them, in consideration of their hopeless ugliness. It is a very large and fine piece of damask, looking quite as good as new—it was on the table yesterday, and is again to-day for a very large party.

The other curiosity is a chandelier of rock crystal, which belonged to Marie Antoinette—was brought here by some emigrant family, pledged to Mr Colston's father for £400, and never redeemed.

This is a very finely situated place, with some beautiful ground about it just below Roundway Down, where the battle was fought, and looking all over the rich vale—lots of deer in the park. The reception rooms of the house are a suite 210 feet long, opening one into another; and very handsome, but the rest of the house is not adequate, though sufficiently comfortable.

To Sir William Miles¹

EAST BRENT, 15th June 1849.

I know you will not mind my sending you the enclosed sketch of a Resolution, which, while it would give the Church all the security that is wanted in respect of the Management Clauses, would be, as it seems to me at least, very difficult to resist. It is very brief and simple, and avoids raising any question about what is or what is not a Church School, but affirms to the full extent, the great principle of liberty.

¹ Of Leigh Court, Somerset. Bart., M.P. successively for East Somerset, Chippenham, and Romsey. Died 1878.

It was with an eye to Parliament throughout, that I framed the Resolution¹ which I proposed at the meeting last week—I wished to affirm a great principle, putting all details aside—the amendment, which I accepted in its place, after I had amended it, may be all very well for that meeting to have passed, and certainly secured a remarkable unanimity of decision—but I doubt much, whether it does not go too much into details to form a good Parliamentary basis—surely what we want to come before Parliament upon, is the one simple question of the grievance.

To S. R. Kenyon, Esq.²

EAST BRENT, 22nd September 1849.

I had some talk with Archdeacon Thorp³ in London last Tuesday, and he expressed his conviction—one in which I have long shared—that it is most necessary that an effort should be made to adjust the relations between the London and Metropolitan Church Unions, in such sort as that they may both be parts of one harmonious system of operation.

We concur, and so does Woodard, in thinking—

1. That it is of the greatest importance to the proper efficiency of Church Unions that there should be a body in London upon whose means of knowledge and on whose prudence complete reliance can be placed.

2. That there must also be in London an efficient working body.

3. That for two Unions to exist in London, both as working bodies, must be very damaging to the cause.

4. That the London Unions can never look, for various sufficient reasons, to becoming an efficient working body.

5. That the Metropolitan Union presents every prospect of becoming an efficient working body.

¹ RESOLUTION :

That it is the opinion of this House, that founders of Church Schools, who shall see fit to constitute their schools otherwise than is provided in the Management Clauses of the Committee of Council, ought not to be excluded from a share in the Education Grant.

² Fellow of All Souls.

³ Archdeacon of Bristol, and President of Bristol Church Union.

We want then two bodies in London—a working body, and another body in close connection with the working body, who would, as occasion served, and need required, be prepared to come together, upon a summons from their Secretary, for the purposes of advising upon a course of action in important cases, and of solving legal or other difficulties.

Now the constitution of the Committee of the London Union appears to supply what is wanted for these latter purposes very exactly. The best thing that could happen would be, I think, that the London Union should propose to coalesce with the Metropolitan Union, and to adopt their rules, which I think excellent, and in some points superior to any that I have seen—and that thus coalescing and becoming one body, the Committee of the London Union should remain, or such part of them as seem, by position and character suited to such an office, as a separate Committee of consultation and reference—a sort of “Senatus.”

Or the Committee of the London Union might hold such a position, not as a separate Committee of the Metropolitan Union, but only in close connection with it, by receiving all its documents and supplying advice, as in the case of the Country Unions.

In either case the members of the London Union, not being on the Committee, would, I think, do well to become members of the Metropolitan Union—but I should very much prefer myself to see a complete coalition.

The above is the result of my deliberations upon what has appeared to me to be a very grave case, and one at present filled with difficulties and discouragements.

I think it very pressing that some such conclusion should be come to with as little delay as possible; if it is to be hoped that we are to do the work which I am persuaded we may do for the defence and advancement of Church interests, but which we do not do now.¹

¹ This and the following letters refer to the Bristol Church Union (founded in 1844), to the Metropolitan Union (chiefly concerned with the revival of Convocation), and to the London Church Union. These, and several Country Unions, and the Church of England Protection Society were all finally incorporated into the English Church Union, in May 1860.

*To the Rev. Dr Spry*¹

EAST BRENT, 23rd September 1849.

There is one point, as it seems to me, very important to the right consideration of this question, and that is, that it is to the long inaction and want of organisation and life in the London Union that it must, I think, be allowed that we are mainly indebted for the existence of another body in the Metropolis.

I am far from stating this as a matter of blame to any one. It would be both presumptuous and unjust in me to do so. It has been the natural and almost necessary consequence of the elements out of which the London Union Committee has been composed.

It could not be expected that a place like London would go on without a working Church Union such as ours at Bristol and elsewhere, and those who felt the necessity of this, finding very little prospect of it in the constitution and working of the London Union, were in a manner, driven to make a Union of their own. . . .

I know that you will allow me to state my conclusions to you without any reserve. If all Church Unions are united they may do much, but if not, they will be powerless for good, and it will, I think, be very damaging to the cause of the defence and advancement of Church interests generally, that there should be in London two professedly working Unions—one of them, by the very elements out of which it is framed, being unfitted for such a purpose. I could not myself, however, and I am sure in this I may speak for others, be a party to any arrangement which would show any want of consideration for the London Union—what has appeared to us is, that it will best serve the cause that they should resume their original position of an advising body—out of which they were forced step by step by circumstances to assume another position, which, however, they have never been able really to occupy.

I believe that the Metropolitan Union would be very glad indeed of any arrangement which would tend to mutual co-operation.

¹ Rector of St Marylebone.

*To the Rev. Dr John Cook*¹

EAST BRENT, 23rd October 1849.

I have taken the liberty of applying to you with a request that you will have the goodness to send me a copy of the document agreed to by the General Assembly regarding Education, and transmitted with a letter from yourself to the Earl of Minto, or to inform me where it can be procured.

I shall not, I trust, under the very grave circumstances of our position, appear guilty of an impertinent intrusion, if I say, that it appears to me that the time is fully come, when all those who hold that there is such a thing as objective truth—that there are such things as religious doctrines—that these have a real existence—and that the maintenance of them in all their integrity is vital to religion—should be prepared to combine for the purposes of a steady and uncompromising resistance to the whole system and operations of the Committee of Council on Education.

That System goes, and by a very direct path, to the establishment amongst us, in place of any distinctive religious teaching whatsoever, of the comprehensive method of German theorists.

The inevitable, and not distant result of permitting the establishment of the comprehensive method would be the Socinianising the great mass of the people of this country.

It is therefore, as it seems to me, quite impossible to overrate the magnitude of the present crisis.

I would apologise for my letter, if I did not feel that the circumstances which have called it forth are its best apology.

*To the Rev. the Secretary of the National Society*²

EAST BRENT, 13th December 1849.

I beg to acknowledge with my best thanks, the receipt of your letter of 11th inst., enclosing a copy of your letter to the Committee of Council.

¹ Professor of Divinity in the University of St Andrews.

² The National Society for promoting the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church—founded 1809-11.

I am most thankful for the greater part of the contents of the letter enclosed, but I very deeply regret to find that the Committee have only taken the negative ground of declining to recommend the Government Clauses, and to be obliged to say, that I am persuaded that the position in which the National Society is now placed, however greatly improved, will not be found to be such as will command general confidence and support.

I am fully sensible of the great value of the decision of the Committee not to recommend the Clauses, on the ground of their being insisted upon in all cases—the principle of the controversy has thus far been vindicated—but the simply declining to recommend upon this single ground, leaves it to be understood that the Committee of the National Society expresses no opinion, unfavourable or otherwise, upon the Clauses themselves, and places Church founders in the position of being exposed, without any direct and positive advice from the Committee of the National Society, to the whole influence of Government, and to all the temptations of Government assistance.

There appears to me, therefore, great grounds to fear that, under these circumstances, the issue will be, that the Government Clauses will be very generally adopted.

If this should prove to be the case, it will be difficult to say what will be the value of the position which has been assumed by the Committee of the National Society, or in what manner it will have conduced to the safety of Church Education.

For I may be allowed to observe that, taking into account the existence and operation of the Management Clauses, it is scarcely possible for the Committee of the National Society to “resume their original position,” *i.e.*, to stand exactly in the same relation to the State as that in which they stood before the Clauses became avowedly a part of the system of the Committee of Council on Education.

To a Friend

I want you to consider this—supposing the Judicial Committee to say—as it seems to be very commonly expected they will say—that Mr Gorham’s¹ opinions upon

¹ The Rev. J. C. Gorham, a beneficed clergyman in the Diocese of Exeter, was presented by the Lord Chancellor to another living in the same Diocese—the Vicarage of Bramford Speke. Before proceeding

the holy Sacrament of Baptism do not supply a sufficient ground for refusing him Institution to a cure of souls in the Church of England—what I want to know is, where, in that case, will be the authoritative teaching of the Church of England in respect of the holy Sacrament of Baptism?

Mr Gorham has formally denied the Catholic doctrine, and yet, say the Supreme Court of Appeal—he may lawfully be instituted to a cure of souls.

Where will be, I ask, the authoritative teaching of the Church of England? I may say, and you may say—that the decision is as nothing to us—but our opponents would have the formal authority on their side, not indeed to the extent that ours is not the true doctrine, for nobody has dared to ask the Judicial Committee to say this directly—but that it is not necessarily the true doctrine in such sort as that a person who formally denies it ought, on that account, to be refused Institution to a cure of souls in the Church of England. Now this is, I apprehend, exactly the same thing as to say that the Church of England has no doctrine of the holy Sacrament of Baptism—hitherto the formal authority has been on our side—in the event of such a decision as I have contemplated it will not be on our side. Our teaching then would resolve itself into a mere exercise and assertion of private judgment, so far as the doctrine of the Church of England is concerned—*i.e.*, exactly into that which we have always objected to our opponents.

It would resolve itself into this till the Church of England set aside the decision of the Judicial Committee, by her own authoritative decision, and restored the Catholic doctrine to its proper place—the decision then of the Judicial Committee, though it cannot of course affect

to institute Mr Gorham in his new preferment, the Bishop of Exeter (Phillpots) proceeded to put certain questions upon the Church's Doctrine with regard to the Sacrament of Baptism. One of these questions was: "Does the Church hold, and do you hold, that all infants duly baptised, are born again of water and the Holy Ghost?" Mr Gorham's reply did not satisfy the Bishop, and he refused to institute. Legal proceedings were taken, and the case reached the Privy Council. On 8th March 1850 their decision, which was not unanimous, was given. The Court, which owned to great difficulty in coming to a right conclusion, acquitted Mr Gorham, and the case was remitted to the Court of Arches, before which tribunal no further steps were taken, and the Dean of Arches, therefore, acting for the Archbishop of Canterbury, instituted Mr Gorham to the Vicarage of Bramford Speke.—"Life of Bishop Wilberforce," vol. ii., pp. 37-8.

the truth itself in the least degree, is yet of the last importance to the position of all the Clergy and all the Laity—for such a decision would take away from the Clergy the power to teach anything in respect of the Sacrament of Baptism as necessarily true.

To Mrs G. Denison

11th January 1850.

It appears certain that the decision on Gorham case will be on Tuesday. I fear I must needs be here. Men here are evidently preparing for a great struggle.

15th January 1850.

No judgment to-day, nor is it known when.

I went first to Spry, where I got some sherry and rusks—he still wears his velvet crown and lamb's-wool shawl—then to Wordsworth, and then to Manning.

All here very satisfactory—but we both feel the importance of the Gorham case so intensely that our talk was more upon that; he dreads a favourable decision as much as anything else, because it will go far to compromise the position of the Church as the interpreter of and witness to her own doctrine.

I have been very much of this mind myself since I read H. Wilberforce's ¹ letter in the *Guardian*.

14 NEW STREET, 17th January 1850.

The Judicial Committee had a stormy meeting on Tuesday. It is currently said in London, that the Archbishop of York has confessed that he was all wrong in his charge. I hope for his sake that it may be true, but I don't believe it.

I shall have much to tell you, especially of a second interview with Manning—quite satisfactory as far as the Education matter and movement is concerned, but full of the deepest anxiety upon other grounds.

I can see that the whole question of the Supremacy of the Crown, its nature and its extent, is sure to come up whichever way the decision is.

¹ Rev. Henry Wilberforce, Vicar of East Farleigh.

*To the Rev. W. H. Hoare*¹

EAST BRENT, 5th June 1850.

Your great kindness makes me not unwilling to trespass once more upon your time.

When I spoke of "objective truth," what I meant by it, and what I understand it to mean is, the body of truth delivered to us in the Creeds, with the interpretation affixed of the essential meaning of each Article by Catholic tradition.

That a branch of the Church Catholic should admit any—the very slightest departure from, or variation of such interpretation, either by any act internal to herself, or by acquiescence in such act if imposed from without, would amount, I cannot doubt, to a forfeiture of its Catholic character.

About the first of these two processes, there will, I believe, be a very general concurrence among all who believe in the "One Catholic and Apostolic Church"—a branch of the Church so admitting heresy by a formal act of its own, must be out of the pale—whether there is room for repentance and restoration in such a case I cannot presume to say.

But where the act is forcibly imposed from without it becomes a difficult question what kind and manner and degree of resistance and repudiation will avail to clear the Church from the stigma of acquiescence, and the question becomes more difficult when, as in our case, the regular action of the Church applicable to such an emergency, is prohibited by the civil power.

I cannot think that anything that has been done yet—since the delivery of a judgment by a supreme Court of Appeal, which goes the full length of saying that the Church of England is not a branch of the Church Catholic, because it goes the full length of denying the essential meaning of an article of the Creed—can be regarded as amounting in reality to anything like a sufficient repudiation of the deadly heresy which has been attempted to be fastened upon us—the beginning of such repudiation has, in my belief and judgment, still to be made—and while I am content that

¹ Fellow of St John's College, Cambridge. Author of several books, died 1888.

time should be given, considering all the circumstances of the very anomalous position of the Church of England, I live in a state of the most painful anxiety lest such beginning should not be made.

When the Bishops separated, after three weeks' deliberation, doing absolutely nothing in defence of the Faith—for this Bill¹ of the Bishop of London's is, I think, not simply nothing, but worse than nothing—when the majority of them, having agreed at their second meeting to the principle and substance of a declaration, afterwards shrank from it, upon what I have heard called by one of their number “the most frivolous pretences”—I believe that a greater chill and despondency seized upon many hearts than had found any place in them before, and, as appears to me, with the greatest cause. If the doctrine of the Holy Trinity had been at stake, I presume that the Bishops of the Church of England would not have dealt with it after this fashion—the only conclusion to be drawn is, that they do not regard the doctrine of the Sacraments as of equally vital importance to the very being of the Church of England—and this is to me most fearful—it shows to what an extent human opinions have come into the place of Catholic Faith.

What shall be assailed next, when the outwork of Sacramental truth has been thus stormed by the enemy? The history of the Ultra-Protestant Communions and their almost universal descent into Socinianism is the warning of the Church of England. God in His mercy grant that she be not slow to receive it and apply it to herself.

*To Lord John Russell*²

EAST BRENT, 12th July 1850.

There is but one apology which I can at all trust will be accepted for the very unusual course I have taken in addressing this letter to your Lordship—I mean the magnitude of the interests with which it is concerned, and the extent to which those interests will be affected by the course which shall be taken in connection with them by her Majesty's Government.

¹ Bill introduced by the Bishop of London, 6th May 1850, to amend the law with reference to appeals from Ecclesiastical Courts to Her Majesty's Privy Council.

² Afterwards Earl Russell.

I will trust that these things will be accepted as my excuse—I do not, of course, presume to expect any reply to, or even acknowledgment of this letter—I write it in the hope that it will be read at your Lordship's leisure.

Your Lordship is perhaps aware that I have taken from the first an active part in the opposition which has been offered to the course of the Committee of Council on Education in requiring the adoption of one of the Management Clauses A, B, C, D,¹ as a necessary condition of a grant in aid of the building of schools.

I will not take up your Lordship's time by setting forth the grounds of that opposition—my wish is to be allowed to suggest what appears to me a very simple, easy, and legitimate remedy for the evils which, I think, all must allow, are inseparable from that want of harmony and good understanding between the Church and the Civil Power, which has been caused principally by this requirement of the Committee of Council on Education.

I am quite aware that it will be said that I greatly overstate the case in speaking of the Church collectively as

¹ The Management Clauses A, B, D, and C, occupy ten pages of the Minutes of the Committee of Council on Education. They provide—that the school should be open to the Inspector, that, when in connection with the National Society, it should be always in union with and conducted in accordance to the principles of the National Society, that unless otherwise specified by the Donor, the principal Officiating Minister of the Parish should have the superintendence of the religious and moral instruction of all the scholars, that he should have power to use it for a Sunday-School. But that in all other respects, including the prayers used in school, and the religious books, and the appointing and dismissing the master and mistress, the management should rest with a Committee (of whom the clergyman should be one) described as "Members," or Communicants of the Church of England, having holdings in the Parish, or subscribing twenty shillings a year to the School.

In case of any difficulty, the Bishop of the Diocese was to be appealed to, who would nominate another Clergyman of the Diocese to be an arbitrator, and they two should choose a third person, who should be a Justice of the Peace, being a member of the Church of England, or, failing this, the Archbishop of the Province and the Lord President of the Council may jointly appoint a third Arbitrator.

Power is also given to the Committee to appoint Ladies, being Members of the Church of England, to assist in the visitation and management of the Girls' and Infants' Schools.

It was also provided that the Master and Mistress should always be Members of the Church of England.

The Archdeacon's proposed Clause E was framed to meet cases where it was not intended to have any Committee, and vested the

being at issue with the Civil Power upon this matter. But whatever may be the precise extent of the disagreement at

sole and entire management, for ever, in the Clergyman of the Parish or district, with an appeal from any two parishioners to the Bishop.

He also wished to amend the clauses A, B, D, and C, as follows—

PROPOSALS for Amending and giving a distinct Church Character to the Management Clauses of the Committee of Council on Education, A, B, C, D, and for completing the series by the addition of Clause E.¹

I.—To *omit* from the Clauses of the Committee of Council on Education, A, B, C, D,

1. Everything that goes to set up any distinction between *religious* and *other* instruction.
2. Everything that places the control over the entire *order, teaching, and discipline* of the school in any other hands but in those of the Clergyman of the Parish or district, or the licensed Curate thereof.
3. Everything that places the appointment and dismissal of the Schoolmaster, Schoolmistress, and assistant Teachers in any other hands but those of the clergyman of the Parish or district (except in cases in which such dismissal is directed by the Bishop), or in those of the licensed Curate thereof.
4. Everything that provides for an appeal to any other Authority than the Bishop of the Diocese.
5. The words "Member," or "Members of the Church of England," *in all cases.*

II.—To *insert*—

1. Words, wheresoever necessary, in place of the objectionable provisions above enumerated.
2. Provisions for giving to the parties for whose benefit the School has been founded a complete power of appeal.²
3. The negative Clause at the close of the declaration of Communion required of all Members of School Committees.

III.—Clauses A, B, C, D, amended as above, appear to have, all of them, a distinct Church character, and to be therefore such as may safely be *recommended* by the Committee of the National Society to parties seeking their counsel and guidance as to the Management Clause to be inserted in the Trust Deed of a School.

¹ It is suggested that it would guard against misunderstanding, if a statement were prefixed to any series of Clauses that may be adopted by the Committee of the National Society, to the effect that the Committee do no more than *recommend* the Clauses as providing, in their judgment, safe and fitting forms of management for Church Schools, and do not make the adoption of one or other of them by founders of Schools a *condition* of their own grants.

² It is very remarkable that in no one of the Management Clauses, A, B, C, D, as proposed, or as finally revised, by the Committee of Council on Education, is there any power of appeal given to the parties for whose benefit the School is founded, except so far as such parties may happen to be members of the proposed Managing Committees. This great defect is made good in the amended Clauses, A, B, C, D, and provisions to a like effect are inserted in Clause E.

this time, I do not, I believe, overstate the case in saying that a wide and rapidly increasing dissatisfaction with the course of the Committee of Council on Education, together with—I am obliged to say it, but I would wish to say it in no offensive sense—a growing distrust of their ultimate intentions, prevails among large bodies of Churchmen, both Laity and Clergy—a dissatisfaction and distrust which, as they may be clearly shown to rest upon legitimate and sufficient grounds, must increase still further, and issue in a very general alienation, unless some remedy can be found.

The remedy, I shall venture to suggest, is one which could work no possible injury or prejudice to the Civil Power, but which must work much good both to the Civil Power and the Church, because it must tend powerfully to restore confidence and co-operation.

I should wish, however, before I proceed to submit it for your Lordship's consideration, to be allowed to say a few words more by way of preface.

The movement in opposition has been very commonly represented as exclusively a movement of a certain section of the Clergy, and to have for its object, the placing in the hands of the Clergy a power which it is unfair to the Laity and inconsistent with the well-being of the Church to admit. I should not despair of convincing your Lordship, if I were not afraid of trespassing too long upon your time, that all that is asked for the Clergy is nothing new, but only that they should not now for the first time be placed in a position which must necessarily interfere with the due and exact discharge of the responsibilities of their sacred office. But with respect to the statement that the movement is exclusively a clerical movement, your Lordship is doubtless aware that of the whole number of cases in which grants have been refused on the ground of the non-acceptance of the Management Clause, there are several in which the founders have been either, solely or principally, Laymen—and it will hardly be supposed that there has been in these cases any view of establishing a Clerical domination, a thing which I take leave to say is as impossible in the Church of England as it is to be deprecated everywhere, or indeed any view beyond a religious objection founded upon a conviction of what is due to the order and the practice of the Church—and I cannot but think, that the more the people of England are informed upon the case, the more it will appear to them, generally, to be a very hard case that the religious scruples of founders,

when plainly in accordance with the order and the practice of their Church, should be made the reason for excluding them from public aid towards the building of their schools. I beg now, therefore, very respectfully, to submit for your Lordship's consideration—

That to Clauses A, B, C, D, there be added a Clause E, to meet the case of all such founders of Schools, Laity and Clergy, whether in town or country, as shall desire to place the permanent management of their schools solely in the hands of the Clergyman of the Parish—or Ecclesiastical District—and the Bishop of the Diocese.

If, upon the addition of such a Clause E., there should prove to be a large number of founders who avail themselves of it, this would surely be of itself a sufficient ground for having made the addition—if there should prove to be few who avail themselves of it, I would submit that there would nevertheless be the following very excellent reason for the course I have ventured to suggest.

That to add such a Clause E, and to allow to all founders, Laity and Clergy, whether in town or country, full freedom to adopt it, without prejudice to their claim for a share of the public grant in aid of building their schools, would be only to carry out to a most legitimate extent the principle upon which that grant has been voted by Parliament, the principle of assisting as far as possible the voluntary efforts of Churchmen and others, without imposing any restriction or conditions, but such as are absolutely necessary, and which the several parties may be disposed freely to admit.

I believe, My Lord, that the remedy I have here ventured to suggest would be complete, in respect of all the dissatisfaction which is felt in connection with the Management Clauses, as I cannot doubt that if the arrangement it supposes had existed from the first, there would never have been any controversy on the subject.

I do not, indeed, conceal from myself, that to suggest a remedy which would, if adopted, amount to an abandonment of the position hitherto taken in reference to this question by Her Majesty's Government, may only serve to excite a smile. I have a good hope, nevertheless, that your Lordship will not refuse to reconsider the whole matter, and to decide upon a course which will compose an unhappy difference, and be found, as I verily believe, to unite in its favour every consideration of justice and sound policy.

*To the Rev. W. Palmer*¹

EAST BRENT, 2nd September 1850.

Your letters are a great comfort to me. I am very glad that I have withdrawn my signature definitely.

I am at work upon "An Appeal to the Clergy and Laity of the Church of England—to combine in Defence of the Church." It includes a sketch of the plan. You shall have one, if you will promise to make your free remarks upon it, before it is published. Something I feel I must put out at this time.

I fancy that the only issue of Committee, 24th July, will be the amalgamation of the two Unions. We must plainly have a great deal more than this, and something which will operate as a check to what I quite agree with you is unwholesome influence.

I cannot but think, that if you were to put out a declaration of fidelity to Church of England, and quite against secessions to Rome, as the basis of any plan for combined action—that we should have with us the immense majority of Churchmen, whatever our friends might say against it. Think about this. Let us have our own plan, and head it with such declaration, and if they will not sign it, let them go their own way. The Laity will go with us, and most of the Clergy.

I feel very strongly that unless we move now upon our own English line, we are lost, what between State on one side, and Romanizers on the other.

*To the Rev. J. Irvine*²

EAST BRENT, 17th September 1850.

I cannot think that we shall either get, or deserve to get, the English people with us unless we put ourselves

¹ This letter and four following ones refer to the London and Bristol Church Unions.

The Rev. W. Palmer (afterwards Sir William Palmer, Bart.) was Vicar of Whitchurch Canonorum, Dorset, and a Prebendary of Salisbury. He was the author, amongst other learned works, of "*Origines Liturgicæ*," and "A Treatise on the Church," and was one of the most deeply learned men of the Oxford Movement.

² Of Talkin Parsonage, Milton.

clearly and intelligibly before them. I am therefore for basing the whole future movement upon a Declaration, which shall assert the true position of the Church of England, and, in asserting it, say no more about Rome than is absolutely necessary, and "cast no stones."

There will, it is plain, be considerable difference of opinion amongst us as to this course. I am sorry for it, but I see no reality in the movement as it is going on now, half alive and half dead, with one foot in Rome and the other in England.

I am content to fight all my life for the Church of England, but I would not fight one hour for what is neither England nor Rome. One principal reason of the small number of signatures has been that we are not trusted, and the secessions since have made the matter much worse. It may be that we shall gain little belief by saying anything, but nevertheless it is, I am persuaded, our duty to say it. I fear it will draw a line between us, but if we cannot say publicly that we adhere without swerving to the Church of England, what is it that we are fighting for? If it is said, "We are fighting for the Catholic Faith," that is true enough; but then I apprehend that is the precise ground upon which the Church of England takes her stand as distinguished from Rome and from ultra-Protestantism. I am afraid I shall not have your concurrence as to the advisableness of making a Declaration, but I am sure that you will not mind my stating thus freely my views about it.

To the Rev. W. Palmer

EAST BRENT, 26th October 1850.

I send you the enclosed, which I received to-day, with my free remarks. We owe you all our thanks for it.

At the same time, I am bound to say that there are things in it which alarm me, and which, I am not without hope, you may be induced to modify—*e.g.* the passage marked and commented upon, page 13; again, page 67 in appendix¹—about Rome not being a part of the Church

¹ The reference probably is to Mr Palmer's "Letter to N. Wiseman, D.D., on the Errors of Rome," republished in 1851. Mr Palmer, in his "Resolution and Statement of Principles," written for

Catholic. I do not gather whether you assert this, or only refuse to assert that she is a part.

For my part I could not go along with you either way; and at a moment when Rome, in her corporate capacity, is doing what the Church of England, from whatever cause, is not doing—*i.e.* defending and maintaining dogmatic Truth—I think it difficult to say anything against her more than what must be implied in asserting the Catholic position of the Church of England. I could have wished, I confess, to see the point brought out that we have much in common with Rome—though we are bound for the Truth's sake to declare against her. I am, as you know, quite prepared to go along with you in the great cause of asserting and maintaining against all comers (1) the Catholic position of the Church of England, and (2) her superiority to Rome. But I could never be any party—any more than I believe you would yourself—to giving our movement that character which Pusey's¹ letter would attach to it, *i.e.* simply an anti-Romanising character, and one welcoming the co-operation of all, provided only they will oppose Rome.

I entirely believe that the State and its influences are even a worse enemy to the Church of England than Rome is, and I think it not impossible that a day may be not far off when England and Rome will have to fight side by side against Infidelity.

I think that with Pusey, Keble, and many others, this last feeling has much to do with their antipathy to any anti-Roman declaration. I do not concur with them in their conclusion, but neither can I say that I do not assert and maintain that Rome is a part of the Church Catholic.

the Bristol Church Union, said "That the Roman Church (including the other churches in communion with her), having repudiated Communion with all the Churches which do not recognise the claims of the Bishop of Rome, and, having by formal decrees, and other authoritative acts, and in her popular practice, corrupted the primitive faith and worship of the Holy Catholic Church, reconciliation or inter-communion with the Roman Church, on the part of either Churches or individuals of the English Communion, cannot, until the Roman Church shall have reformed herself, be effected consistently with obedience to the law of Christ."

¹ See "Life of Rev. E. B. Pusey," vol. iii., c. xi. Ed. 1894.

*To the Rev. J. B. Clarke*¹

EAST BRENT, 30th October 1850.

It will, I think, require great care to prevent the stamping on our movement, as its principal characteristic, hostility to Rome. The principal enemy of the Church of England is the latitudinarian spirit of the State of England, which is seeking to rob her of her Catholic character. In the same proportion that the attempt succeeds, Rome will be powerful in England, but I cannot think in any other. Our business is, as it seems to me, to assert the Catholic position and character of the Church of England against all comers, Rome included of course, but not made one whit more prominent than latitudinarianism, whether civil or religious—I should say, indeed, not so prominent. The Catholic element exists in Rome, although grievously dimmed by her many aberrations from and corruptions of the Faith.

If God shall see fit to purify her from these, the Church of England may yet have to fight with her side by side against Infidelity, which is so fast sweeping over the Christian world under many a specious shape.

To Oswald Jackson, Esq.

EAST BRENT, 8th November 1850.

I am much obliged to you for your kind letter. I gather from it that you are with others looking forward to the not improbable necessity at no distant day for the establishment of the "Free Church of England."

I believe myself that the day will come, and sooner perhaps than many think, but I am for many and patient efforts first to recover the rights and liberties of the Church.

¹ Prebendary of Wells, and Rector of West Bagborough, Somerset.

To Earl Nelson

EAST BRENT, 11th February 1851.

I am beginning to be afraid that in the middle of all this turmoil the Education Cause will go to the wall; and yet, what is there in the whole circle of Church questions which, if considered with any depth or forecast, is equally important?

Lord Harrowby's answer to my request on the part of our Committee, that he would kindly undertake to move early this Session for a select Committee, was only a doubtful answer, and leaves us in a state of great difficulty as to what we should do.

Meantime the enemy is pressing on. Not only have the Committee of Council succeeded in getting some considerable expression of confidence in their proceedings, but their system is beginning to bear its proper fruit in the Manchester Scheme.¹

This again is only the prelude to Cobden's plan of a general scheme to be established upon a general rating system; and as it seems plain that it will be impossible to introduce the principle of a general rate, except in connection with what is called the "purely secular" system—*i.e.* Cobden's—I trust that the opposition will be made in time.

If we could but get our Committee now in House of Lords, then, when the Manchester Scheme comes into the House of Commons, our friends there would be able to resist it upon the ground that the Lords had instituted a general enquiry.

My present idea is that in a little time I should write again to Lord Harrowby, and say that the impending danger of the Manchester Scheme makes us very anxious to know whether we may look to him to move early for the Select Committee. If he fails us, to whom are we to go? Does Lord Redesdale's present position interfere with our applying to him?

I know you will not mind my troubling you with these questions. Our anxiety is very great, but we do not know what to be at.

¹ The Manchester and Salford Scheme for an Education Rate, 1851-3.

To the Earl of Harrowby

EAST BRENT, 17th February 1851.

I fear that I may perhaps appear to press unduly upon your time and attention, but the anxieties of our position leave me no alternative.

We feel that if the early part of this Session is allowed to pass without securing the Select Committee upon Education, our cause, so far as Parliament is concerned, becomes hopeless ; and the emergency of the case is increased by the prospect of a bill being brought into the House of Commons for establishing the comprehensive system in Manchester and Salford, and for supporting it by rate.

It might supply some Parliamentary ground for our friends in House of Commons if they were in a position to meet such a bill, among other arguments, with the fact that an enquiry into the whole matter was actually going on, or about to commence, in the House of Lords.

Upon all grounds, therefore, the state of the case appears to us to be very pressing, and I feel sure that I shall stand excused with your Lordship for asking you whether we may count upon your moving now for the Select Committee which Government pledged themselves to give last year.

To John Ruskin, Esq.

EAST BRENT, 21st March 1851.

I will make no further apology for offering an answer to your question. In doing this, I trust I shall not appear to invite any controversy. I cannot regard it as part of my office to discuss the whole or any part of the "Catholic Faith," though I must always be ready to declare and to teach it.

The reason why I offered the suggestion in connection with the "Sacramental System" was this—

That however little may be said about that system directly and by name in any book which treats of the Church, it is impossible that any such book can be written without either affirming or denying it.

The meaning of the "Sacramental System" is this—

That man, born into the world fallen and lost, is united in and by Holy Baptism to Christ's Human Nature. That this Union cherished and guarded, under grace, by prayer and watching, and the right use of the Holy Scriptures and of the ministry and teaching of the Church, is completed and perfected, so far as is possible in this world, in and by the right receiving of the Lord's Supper. "The Sacramental System" is thus only another name for "the Catholic Faith."

To J. G. Hubbard, Esq.¹

EAST BRENT, *Easter Monday* 1851.

You will know without my telling you how much your letter has disappointed me.

Nor can I admit the soundness of its reasoning. If you can get the State of England to give the Church of England money to do her own work in her own way, without so much as a shade of an attempt to make it a State way, it would be another thing. But this you have not got, nor can you get it: it is not within the number of things possible. There are, I know, no "Management Clauses" for training schools, but there are State conditions insisted upon as the price of aid, which is, I suppose, pretty much the same thing.

I see that the enclosed paper warily says nothing about State aid. It is not their way to speak out, but I suppose no man in his senses imagines that they do not mean to have it, and to give up—as they have done more than once already—Church principles for it as soon as they are asked, or at best after a little sham fighting.

I knew very well when I began this training school matter that it would be very uphill work. I did not forget that when I first moved against the Committee of Council on Education in the matter of the Management Clauses, four years ago, I had comparatively few who thought with me.

Nevertheless, if it had not been for the treachery—I use the word advisedly—of the Committee of the National

¹ Afterwards Lord Addington.

Society, I should have beaten the Government long ago.

It is the same story over again now. Even in 1851, Churchmen are not prepared to make a Church training school which shall have no connection of any kind with the State.

I hope it is in no arrogant or presumptuous spirit that I state my deep and unhesitating conviction that they will be amazed a very few years hence to think that they should have hesitated now.

I have no faith in the compatibility of "keeping the Catholic Faith whole and undefiled" *and* State connection; and Church Societies are become to me a complete unreality. . . .

I will fight till I die for the Catholic Church of England. I will not move one finger for a Church which negotiates with the House of Commons, or its creatures, about the means of discharging the trust committed to her of God.

I publish the paper¹ this week headed with my Bishop's approval, and with some additions. I will hope that you will give it a second reading before you finally say no.

Some seem to think that this year will pretty well settle who desert us. I cannot think so. Till there is something like decided action in defence of the Catholic Faith of the Church of England, people will be perpetually drifting off to Rome. . . . The Bishop of Exeter is the only man who will contend for the Faith. There is plenty of *λογος* amongst us, very little *ἔργον*, and no *δύναμις*. . . .

I know you like plain speaking. It is just what the Bishops of the Church of England do not like; but they must be taught, my friend, they must be taught.

¹ The paper to which reference is here made was called "Proposal for Establishing a Training School," approved by the Bishop of Bath and Wells.

"The basis of the proposal made in this paper is the necessity which appears to have arisen that the Church of England should organise Training Institutions which shall be altogether independent of State assistance, and shall have no connection direct or indirect with the Committee of Council on Education. . . .

"As a humble means of commencing the work in this part of England, I beg to say that I am ready to receive into the Vicarage House of East Brent young men to be trained, and that I shall be able to accommodate a Master, Assistant, and twenty Students."

The school flourished till 1854, when the exigencies of the Archdeacon's trial obliged it to be closed. See "Notes of my Life," p. 180.

*To the Rev. E. J. Carter*¹

22 GREAT GEORGE STREET,
29th July 1851.

Your letter makes me sad, but it does not alter or affect my resolve.

We are fallen upon times of the Church when churchmen are thrown upon their individual conscience.

It is impossible to so put oneself in another's place as to be adequately a judge of what his conscience determines him to do or not to do, either in respect of time or manner.

If his conscience guides him wrong, it is his own fault, and he must bear his own burden, and the burden of all the mischief he may make. The bodies of men who have been acting in behalf of our poor Church hitherto have become already much dislocated.

I believe that this will go on till a new organisation, such as may be something more adequate to meet a new and pressing danger, is called into real and active life.

I see no signs, as yet, of anything of the kind. I have my doubts about the issue of the Diocesan Synod movement. I suspect the Bishops are about to show just as much encouragement of it as will suffice to smother it, and prevent its doing us any real good.

To the Bishop of ———

EAST BRENT, 13th November 1851.

We had at Bishopstowe, Keble, Claughton, W. Scott, Newton, Smith, Watson, Woollcombe.

I was very glad to be there, for though nothing very definite was agreed upon, a good many things were handled. The Bishop is very well.

We have passed, at Bristol, an Address to both Houses of Convocation, in which we specify the great wrongs inflicted upon the Church of England, principally through the agency of the Archbishop of Canterbury.

¹ Secretary of the Bristol Church Union, and Vicar of Kingston Somerset.

I think you will approve of it in matter and manner. It does not purport to come from the Union, but from Clergy and Lay Communicants of the Church of England.

It will be necessary to get some member of the Upper House of Convocation to present it when Convocation assembles in February. The Bishop of Exeter could hardly do it—at least he seemed to say as much without being asked—but he talked a good deal about getting it done.

It has been suggested to me since—not by the Bishop of Exeter—that if you approved of the Address, then, without attending yourself, you might perhaps not object to ask another Bishop to present it for you.

In that case, the said Bishop would only be acting Ministerially, and need not be in a fright. There is no Bishop who is not in a fright, except the Bishop of Exeter and yourself.

However, you must see the Address first, before I can ask you to say “aye” or “no.”

*To A. J. B. Hope, Esq., M.P.*¹

EAST BRENT, 13th December 1851.

I was just about to write to say how rejoiced I am to see that you have taken up “Education” on its broad principles, and how greatly I admire the manner in which you have done it.

And now for myself, and Resolution. I will make no professions about my motives in the matter, because I believe that you at least know me too well to make it necessary.

I will say at once that I dare not trust my Resolutions out of my own hands—and this particularly after experience of former years. I fully expect to carry them by a great and steady majority. If I cannot, I shall not, for one, think it worth while to attempt again to carry any “Church” Resolution in any public meeting, except in a Synod, by public vote.

Everything that has been gained hitherto in the matter—as I believe to be always the case in every Church matter—has been gained by straightforward determination.

¹ Right Hon. A. J. B. Beresford Hope, sometime M.P. for University of Cambridge.

Everything that has been lost has been lost by vacillation and infirmity of purpose. If our supporters cannot bear to be led honestly and openly, they are hardly worth leading ; but I do not at all believe it. I believe that the time is coming—indeed that it has come—when men will care no more for “management,” but will go straight to their work.

I should have no security in any other hands but my own and yours, that the Resolutions would not be tampered with or the supporters of them made fools of, as on former occasions.

My idea is to make no speech, to move them in three sentences, to reserve to myself the right of reply in case any one speaks in opposition. There should be a stern determination about the whole proceeding, which means doing, and not talking.

I shall hope very earnestly that all this will approve itself to you. To let any one else come into our plan is a very small matter as regards ourselves, but it is a confession of distrust of our supporters which would I think justify them in deserting us.

“*Animis et pectore firmo.*”

*To the Rev. E. C. Woollcombe*¹

EAST BRENT, 17th January 1852.

We ought to have the means of giving a free public and private circulation to documents connected with the Cause of Church Education.

If men are afraid of me, I wish they would find somebody of whom they are not afraid—but then it must be a man who will do the work. I said so to Keble and others last year, but nothing comes of it, or will come.

And I have made up my mind that if Church Education is to be set aside—so far as any recognition of it by the State or assistance from the State is concerned—the responsibility of seeing it set aside without doing anything to save it shall not rest with me. A few earnest men and women setting to work to collect subscriptions would enable us to put the truth of the case in all its bearings well before the public and public men. At present, to judge

¹ Fellow, Tutor, and Dean of Balliol.

from the efforts and sacrifices made to save Church Education, one would suppose that there are not twenty men or women in the country that care really anything about it.

*To the Rev. the Provost of Oriel College*¹

WATERPERRY. WHEATLEY,
27th January 1852.

I have read the sermons you so kindly gave me, not indeed completely, but quite sufficiently to enable me to say that I cannot agree with you.

It seems to me impossible to understand how Apostolic order can be right and yet not essential.

How, again, upon your reasoning, any precise meaning can be attached to the article of the Creed,

“I believe one Catholic and Apostolic Church.”

Neither can I admit that the truth of the doctrine of the Succession is a question of historical evidence. The doctrine is to me plainly in the Bible.

I have never been able to comprehend why men are more startled at the consideration that large bodies of professing Christians are out of the pale of the Church, than at the consideration that after 1800 years of Christianity in the world, the great majority of the world is not Christian in any sense. I find no more difficulty in believing the truth of the first, than I do in acknowledging the fact of the last.

The arguments for allowing the name of Church in any sense to non-Episcopal Communities, appear to me to be drawn from what is confessedly a vicious state of things, and that those who use them reason rather from the facts of human nature than from the fact of a revealed law.

Again, in respect of the Sacraments I am of the same mind with Wilberforce,² and always have been, in less or greater degree, though I have never discussed the matter with him, and have only glanced at his book. If it be not the truth that by the Sacrament of Baptism, man is made partaker of the human nature of Christ, and that by the

¹ The Rev. Dr E. Hawkins.

² Rev. R. I. Wilberforce. The Book was called, “The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist.”

Sacrament of the Body and Blood that participation in the human nature of Christ is renewed and carried on unto perfection, I do not understand wherein consists the value of the Sacraments.

There is to me something very sad and full of terror in the fact that we should thus even now be battling amongst ourselves about the doctrine of the Sacraments and the Apostolical Succession, first principles of the doctrine of Christ.

For a battle it plainly is, and whensoever the link of the establishment shall be broken, it will be seen how wide apart we are, and how vast the difference between us.

To S. Lindsell, Esq.

EAST BRENT, 15th March 1852.

I am sad to find myself still in a great difficulty, and to be the means of placing yourself and Dickenson in what may be probably a like difficulty, in respect of the Inspection part of the Report ;¹ at all events it threatens delay.

I see clearly now—what I had a glimpse of last week when my head was aching—viz., that the distinction we have adopted between Inspection (1), fiscal and administrative, (2), doctrinal and dogmatic, is one which is unreal, and which cannot be carried out in practice without conceding principles for which I am bound to contend.

For Inspection cannot be divided without also dividing school-teaching into religious and secular—*i.e.*, without sanctioning the distinction into religious and non-religious. Now this distinction I have always contended against most earnestly, and hold that it lies at the root of all the mischief.

Therefore, if we are not prepared—as we are not, to admit the Government Inspector to inspect everything, it only remains—as it seems to me—that we claim aid from the State to establish and maintain an efficient Church, or Diocesan Inspection, which shall supply an equal guarantee for the right use of public money—upon the principle set forth in my “Outline of a Plan for Combining State Assistance with Safety of Church Education.”

¹ Of the National Society.

Is it impossible to rearrange this part of the Report upon this principle? I would attempt to do it if it should appear to Dickenson and yourself that there was any opening for it.

To H. Ker Seymer, Esq., M.P.

EAST BRENT, 2nd April 1852.

I am very desirous—if any way possible—to be examined before the Manchester and Salford Education Scheme Committee. I put it—

1. On the ground that I possess a great deal of information touching the state of things in Manchester and Salford, derived from authentic sources.

2. That I have a very near interest in the National Society, which would be most seriously compromised if this bill should pass into a law.

3. That I am prepared to prove to the Committee that a School Rate is a thing inadmissible, because both unjust and dangerous.

To the Rev. W. Scott¹

EAST BRENT, 5th April 1852

I wish I could have that confidence in the Peelite Statesmen, as compared with the Derbyite Statesmen, which you appear to have.

But I have no cause to trust the first a jot more than the last. The only one of them who has gone straight about the Education question is Roundell Palmer.²

As for Gladstone and Sydney Herbert, etc., etc., I would not give three straws for anything they will ever do upon it—but I would give a good deal to escape from the mischief which their three-sided way of looking at all things is fast bringing upon us. I don't know what my good friend the Duke of Newcastle may do. He has never committed himself yet.

¹ Perpetual Curate of Christ Church, Hoxton, London.

² Afterwards Lord Chancellor, and Earl of Selborne.

*To the Rev. H. Newland*¹

EAST BRENT, 8th April 1852.

I see that the new Committee of Council was made last Monday. Now, then, what will Lord Derby do for us?

I have been thinking over your letter, and cannot make out some of it. You say that you should be satisfied with what S. Oxon² has asked.

Why, my good friend, what he asks not only excludes, but protests against the claim which I have been making these five years, the claim which is the gist of the whole, and without which no concession is worth a straw.

You must see that S. Oxon goes on a different tack entirely from me. He wants Committee of Council to settle according to his view what should be the constitution of Church Schools. I want nothing of the kind. Such settlement is the work of a Synod, and not of the Committee of Council and Committee of National Society, or of a Bishop and his Education Board. I want only liberty, so that till the Synod comes Churchmen may have a way of escape, and not be under pains and penalties for conscience sake.

The two objects are quite distinct. I claim Clause E: S. Oxon excludes and protests against the principle of Clause E, and proposes something which shall virtually concede to the Committee of Council the whole point of liberty, and make it the judge of what ought or ought not to be the Constitution of a Church School.

*To the Rev. J. Keble*³

EAST BRENT, Good Friday, 1852.

I need not try to put into words how it concerns me to appear backward in falling in with any suggestion of yours. But I wish you to consider that to make such an addition as you suggest, would be, in point of fact, to acquiesce in an

¹ See "Notes of my Life," p. 180. Afterwards Vicar of South Heighton with Tarring Neville, Chichester.

² Right Rev. Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford.

³ Vicar of Hursley.

arrangement which excludes that "liberty of founders" for which we have throughout contended, and which is so valuable in itself and involves so many most important considerations besides.

We want faithful Laity for all Committees, and ought not to be content with any other, though it would be difficult to devise a test of faithfulness. But what I struggle for is the liberty of those who cannot reconcile it to their conscience, as guided by the Church, to have any Committee¹ at all.

To the Rev. H. Newland

EAST BRENT, *Easter Day*, 1852.

I am afraid, as I conveyed to you in my letter written on Good Friday, that we are more at cross purposes than you seem to think, because your three proposals—which I pray you to observe are identical with S. Oxon's proposals—are not virtually my Clause E, seeing that they omit the pith and marrow of the said Clause E.

I have sent a letter to the *Guardian*—not referring to you, but to their article of last week—which I hope may do something towards clearing my position. I have also striven to analyse the whole matter in the latter half of my Charge, which the Clergy of my Archdeaconry will next month be called upon to "undergo" in the citation phrase.

I cling with all the tenacity of a dying man, or of a bull-terrier, to "Management in the Clergyman only," but I am all for school wardens. It is not my idea. It was sent me by one of my friends in the Oxford Diocesan Board, and I have asked him to elaborate it, but as yet have had no answer.

There is, however, no reason why you should not start it in E. C.² I very much wish you would. It would be much better than that I should do it. I will readily fall in with it. Of course it will want very carefully defining and guarding. I should pursue the analogy of Church wardens as closely as may be.

¹ With reference to Management of Church schools by a Committee.

² *English Churchman* newspaper.

To the Rev. H. Newland

22 GREAT GEORGE STREET,
WESTMINSTER, 15th April 1852.

Your letter dated Easter Day has just reached me here. I do see very well that we are contending for different things—but I had thought that we were contending for the same thing. I am contending—as I have been throughout, for Liberty. It is a mere accident of the claim that it has taken the shape of Clause E. It has so happened that the denial of the points contained under Clause E—and specially the denial of the claim to Building Grants without any Committee—has been the instance and example of the denial of liberty.

You contend for an arrangement which you persuade yourself would be virtually the same thing as what has been summed up by me in Clause E; but whether called Modification or Equivalent, it would equally not be the same thing, because it passes by altogether the point of No Committee—and an arrangement of this kind would therefore still have excluded from Building Grants those founders who cannot under any circumstances accept a Committee—*i.e.* the precise people whose battle I have been fighting all along. Any such arrangement would therefore still be an infringement of Liberty, just as the present arrangement is. If you had read Clause E, you would see at once that the point of it is No Committee.

But it is the last thing in the world that I wish to see that people should be tied to my Clause E, and I care nothing for the precise words of this so long as I get the whole amount of it. I should like to see clauses under all the letters of the alphabet, if necessary, and capable of expansion so as to admit all possible phases of Liberty. If, in short, we understand one another that we contend for unrestricted Liberty—within the limits sanctioned and recommended by the order and the practice of the Church—then we are contending for the same thing, but not otherwise; for if you acquiesce in any arrangement which necessarily supposes a Committee, you are not contending for liberty.

*To R. Phillimore, Esq., D.C.L.*¹

EAST BRENT, 29th May 1852.

I cannot hesitate to put my name to the Declaration against change of Member² put forth by the Residents, though I am not sure that the best indication of Gladstone's strength did not lie in the evident weakness of his opponents.

But while I go all lengths with him in respect of religious equality, or liberty, or by whatever name the necessary evil may be called, I could not sign anything which went to a direct or general approval of his course. In some things, and especially in the Education matter throughout, he has disappointed me very grievously.

To the Rev. W. Scott

WELLS, 3rd June 1852.

We shall have, I see, trouble with some of our friends who cannot, or will not, understand the Catechism Resolution, and think that when we protest (as in the Resolution) against shuffling it away simply to curry favour with Dissenters, we are protesting against that discretionary use of it which some of our brethren adopt in seeking to bring children to become Church children.

The distinction may not be easy to draw in words, but it is a real distinction; and if the result of our remonstrance shall be to elicit that the alleged tampering with, and shuffling away of, the Catechism by Managers of Schools in Union, is, in the main, such discretionary application of it to exceptional cases, it will be something to have elicited.

For my own part, I cut the knot by having no child in my school not baptized and received into the Church; but I know that some of us do not think it right so to restrict themselves.

¹ His brother-in-law, afterwards Right Hon. Sir R. Phillimore, Bt., Q.C., Queen's Advocate, Judge of High Court of Admiralty, Dean of Arches, etc.

² Mr Gladstone was then sitting Member for Oxford University.

*To H. Hoare, Esq.*¹

EAST BRENT, 15th June 1852.

Our success²—God be thanked!—is very unmistakable, and, if I do not deceive myself, big with great consequences both to Church and State.

What I am most deeply anxious about now is that we should not taunt and lash our opponents. They confess publicly the discomfiture they have received, and the hopelessness of future attempts to recover that position which they thought they had secured.

I am, as you will be, for dealing with them in all kindness and gentleness. There are very many good men among them whom such a way of dealing would go far to win over to us, or at least tend to disabuse of many notions respecting us, if they could not be with us altogether—to say nothing of the Christian obligation of so dealing with all men irrespectively of the consequences which it may be hoped will result therefrom.

To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.

EAST BRENT, 23rd June 1852.

I have read your speech in House of Commons on Monday night, 21st inst., with some considerable distress.

I knew that we have not been of one mind upon the Education question, but I was not prepared for a difference to the extent conveyed by the report of your speech.

I.—You entirely dissent from Mr Walpole's doctrine of

¹ Of Staplehurst, Kent, prime mover in the Revival of Convocation; died 1886.

² Lord Derby's Government had discovered that it was quite true what we had all along maintained, viz., that the clergy and laity of the Church of England were placed at a great disadvantage in respect of liberty to provide for the constitution and management of their schools, relatively to the clergy and laity of the Church of Rome; and the Minute of 12th June 1852 was framed to correct this inequality. (Minute of Committee of Council on Education). See "Notes of my Life," p. 159.

freedom.¹ Now I entirely subscribe to it, understanding by it, not the freedom of individual and private judgment, but such freedom as is asserted alike by the Resolution of the Annual Meeting of 1849, and by the final letter of the Committee of the National Society to the Committee of Council on Education, of 11th December 1849.²

I will hope that in this sense you would subscribe to it no less than myself.

Now the existing regulations of the Committee of Council on Education altogether prohibit the exercise of such freedom.

II.—You do not mean, I am sure, that it is a ruled point, and one in which Churchmen may be content to acquiesce, that it is the Committee of Council on Education, and not the Ecclesiastical Authority, which is the judge of what is moral and religious, and what is not; but the report of your speech seems to convey that such is your meaning. You will appreciate all my difficulty. I find my name is on your London Committee, and in justice to you, as to myself, and those many Churchmen who have generously given me their confidence in this matter, I am bound to ask you for a public explanation of what you are reported to have said in House of Commons on Monday night.

The question, then, I have to ask is this: Do you hold that any Constitution and form of management of a

¹ Mr Walpole (in reply to Lord John Russell) . . . "An understanding was come to with the Committee of Privy Council, and the then existing Government that the Church of England should be subject to no further control than was necessary for the inspection and examination of the schools in relation to the application of the money granted by Parliament. . .

"During the whole of that period (1840-1846) the promoters of the schools had the fullest and freest liberty of action to constitute schools in the way they thought proper. . . The National Society urged that they ought to have the selection of one out of the four Clauses, or at all events that they were entitled to perfect freedom of action in the constitution of their schools."

Mr Gladstone in reply said: "It appears to me it is not possible to maintain the doctrine that unlimited freedom is to be given to the founders of schools as to what is to be taught in those schools. . . I fully subscribe to the doctrine that it is the duty of the State to take care that the funds which it provides for the promotion of Education are properly and efficiently extended, and I demur to the doctrine that the founders of these schools have a right to arrange their management as they please and free from Government control."—Hansard's "Parliamentary Debates," vol. ccxxii.

² See "Notes of my Life," p. 155.

Church School, to which the Committee of the National Society—being, in the abeyance of Convocation, the representative of the Church in the matter of Education—gives its own Building Grants freely and unreservedly—as to a Constitution and form of management sanctioned and commended by the order and the practice of the Church—is entitled as freely and unreservedly to a Building Grant from the State? Because if so, schools whose Constitution places the management in the clergyman and none other, with appeal to the bishop, and to none other, are entitled to have Building Grants made them out of the money voted by Parliament, freely and unreservedly, seeing that the Committee of the National Society always has so made, and always must so make, its own Building Grants to schools so constituted. But the Committee of Council, since 1847, has excluded all such schools from State Building Grants, *i.e.*, it has, under the Management Clauses, made itself, and not the Church, the judge of what ought, or ought not, to be the Constitution and form of Management of a Church School.

*To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.*¹

EAST BRENT, 26th June 1852.

I was not sure that your view of the right of the Civil Power, *i.e.* of a House of Commons of “all denominations,” to judge of what ought, or ought not, to be the constitution and form of management of a Church School, and in virtue of that right of judgment, to make or to withhold building grants, as it may see fit, went to the extent conveyed in your letter of yesterday. I was afraid it did; but I wished to know the exact fact, because it is best that there should be a clear understanding about it between us.

Will you let me say—with that friendly freedom which I should wish you always to use towards me—that I am quite unable to comprehend on what principle you are

¹ Mr Gladstone had said in reply that he regarded the composition of the Committees from among Communicants as the real security of the clergy, and that he thought it desirable they should not have exclusive power over schools which are founded, or maintained, wholly or partly by public money.

prepared to make over this right to the Civil Power. We both, I believe, agree that there must be some way of ruling what is or is not a Church School. I cannot comprehend why we do not further agree—that every school, of which it is ruled by competent authority that it is a Church School is, at once, thereby placed in the position of having an equitable claim upon the Civil Power for a share in the money voted for educational purposes.

Where then is the only really competent ruling authority? In the Convocation or Synod? In the abeyance of the Convocation or Synod, the Committee of the National Society—including all the Bishops—is the only resemblance existing amongst us to a representation of the Church in the matter of Education—the only Body which is in any position to lay down principles and rules in the case. I say, then, that what the Committee of the National Society decides should be, pending the judgment of the Convocation or Synod, final and conclusive in the matter; that the question is not in the category of Parliamentary questions at all, any more than doctrinal questions are in the category of such as come under the cognisance of the Civil Courts or of Parliament.

I grant fully that the Civil Power may justly demur to individual notions of what makes a school to be a Church School; but the question is not about individual judgment, but about the judgment of a Committee including all the Bishops of the Church—a Committee filling up the void which is caused by the unconstitutional suppression of the Convocation or Synod. If the Civil Power demur to the judgment of such a Committee, let the Civil power agree that the Convocation or Synod shall sit and judge; but do not let the Civil power put itself into the Church's seat in this, or in anything else.

I think there can be no doubt that Mr Walpole meant to affirm the same doctrine with myself. It is surely idle to talk of the late modifications as having given liberty. To affirm that doctrine, in my judgment—as I believe in the judgment of all who have agreed with me in this controversy—involves principles of the highest import to the future relations of the Church to the State of England.

As a matter of fact, it is curious and instructive that the Church of England is the only religious body the constitution of whose schools the Committee of Council or Parliament has assumed any right to regulate. Whatever colour Kay Shuttleworth, and his slaves the Whigs, may

attempt to give to the fact, all other religious bodies who have Management Clauses, made them for themselves, and the Committee of Council adopted them, with no substantial alteration whatsoever.

With respect to the other point, I think you are mistaken in supposing that it has been anywhere ruled that the Committee of Council is the judge of what is or is not "moral." If it had been so ruled, is it possible for a Churchman to accept the ruling?

But I do not think the question ever came up as to "moral." As to "religious," it came up with the Roman Catholics, and in their case it was conceded to the Spiritual power. I have always said it was so, and Lord John Russell admitted it in his speech on Monday, if the Report be correct.

To Francis G. Coleridge, Esq.

EAST BRENT, 4th October 1852.

I am thinking, if I can find time, of saying something in print about the Lay question.¹ I cannot but think that the question has not been dealt with constitutionally, and, that it has therefore been dealt with unphilosophically. I want all the Lay co-operation which can be had, but I doubt altogether whether the way to get it is to introduce the Lay element into the Assembly of the Spirituality in any case like our own, where it is a case of an Establishment as well as of a Church. I do not, in short, see my way to any such introduction, unless by virtually demitting the Crown and Parliament from the position which is theirs, *de jure et de facto*, of representing the Lay element in Church Legislation.

That position has been, it is true, modified very unfavourably by the legislation of late years, but it still is the position, and I think must continue to be. I would much rather see the Church, Laity and Clergy, labouring to make Crown and Parliament more "Church," than see the hope of doing this virtually abandoned by the introduction of the Lay element into the assembly of the

¹ Mr Coleridge had written: "I feel convinced that a fusion of lay element in the Church deliberations would bind many hearts to her more closely than they are, and would, at all events, tend to convince that we are one body."

Spirituality. The first might be a long and tedious work, and give small signs of any immediate success ; but I am convinced it would be right. The second, I think, would be a fatal step, constitutionally and ecclesiastically.

I should be very glad to know your thoughts upon this point.

To the Editor of the "Times"

7th November 1852.

Will you allow me to suggest that it may be worth while that the reporters of the public press should be at hand when the sitting of Convocation¹ is resumed on Friday next—as assuming that no objection will be made to their being present during the sitting of both Houses.

I shall do all in my power to secure their admission—so far as the lower House is concerned—if any difficulty is made about it. However we may differ about the general question, we shall not, I am persuaded, differ about this—that it is very desirable that the public should have a full and authentic account of all that is said and done.

To the Editor of the "Morning Post"

LONDON, 22nd November 1852.

I see that in an article upon Convocation in the *John Bull* of 20th inst., it is stated that I "stood alone in the expression of an objection against the admission of the Laity to a share in the Church's synodal action."

The statement is not quite correct, for the objection was emphatically expressed by another member, with whom I am unable to agree generally—I mean Dr McCaul ;² and I have good reason to know that if the subject had come formally under discussion, the objection would have been by no means confined in its expression to Dr McCaul and myself.

But in truth the subject was hardly mentioned—certainly not discussed—and I only referred to it myself because I

¹ Convocation met 12th November 1852, for the Despatch of Business, for the first time since 1717.

² Rev. A. McCaul, D.D., Prebendary of St Paul's.

was afraid of being committed by some words of the Arch-deacon of Lewes.

Doubtless it is a matter upon which there will be much discussion, and many persons, Clergy and Laity, will resist the proposal to introduce the Lay element, upon the ground that it is not the province of the Laity to decide questions affecting doctrine, and that it will be found impossible in practice to draw the line between questions which affect doctrine and questions which do not.

I should take this ground myself if other grounds failed me ; but I would rather in the first instance see the question discussed upon another ground—upon one which I may be allowed, perhaps without offence, to call comparatively a lower ground.

The ground I refer to is this : that the proposition to introduce lay representatives into the assembly of the Spirituality can only proceed upon the assumption that the Houses of Parliament are become unfit to deal with questions of Church Law upon their merits, and must be content in future to deal with such questions simply as a heathen Parliament might do.

Now, for one, I am not prepared to admit the truth of this assumption, and I doubt whether the great change in our Civil and Ecclesiastical Polity, which those who assume its truth propose to found upon it, be practicable ; because any such change involves a surrender on the part of the Imperial Parliament of a portion of its present powers—a surrender for which neither Crown, nor Parliament, nor People are, I apprehend, in any degree prepared ; and if the change were practicable, I doubt whether it were desirable, because it is less constitutional, and involves the abandonment of a great position. To introduce representatives of the Laity into the assembly of the Spirituality would be in effect, and in its results, to establish a new ecclesiastical legislature at the expense of certain existing powers of the Imperial Parliament ; and herein the first step, and as it seems to me a most important step, would be taken towards the abandonment of a great position—the position of the Church established by Law. Now I hold that the position of a Church established by law is the best and highest position both of a Church and of a Nation, so far as human enactments are concerned, and as such is not to be impaired, much less sacrificed directly or indirectly, by any voluntary act on the part of its members, and submit that all analogies drawn from the practice of Churches

not established are wholly inapplicable to the case of the Church of England.

My desire is that the Imperial Parliament should as heretofore, and as is the theory and the practice of our limited Monarchy, continue to deal with questions of Church Law upon their merits, after the questions have been dealt with by the assembly of the Spirituality, and before they are submitted for the assent and consent of the Crown.

I am not for giving up Parliament as though, because it is no longer exclusively a Church Parliament, it were no longer to look forward to the time when it may once again more unanimously express the voice of the Laity of the Church. Rather I hold it to be my duty to join with others in a humble endeavour to bring about this good end through the members of both Houses and through the Constituencies, even though with little prospect of any speedy success.

It seems to be very generally assumed that the proposal to introduce the Laity into Convocation must tend powerfully to remove the jealousies and suspicions with which the revival of its active functions is unquestionably regarded. For my part, I have no hesitation in declaring—however paradoxical the declaration may appear to some of my friends—that, rightly considered, any such proposal must have directly the opposite effect. It is one thing to revive the lawful assembly of the Spirituality of the Church of England, side by side with, and, in respect of all legislation, subordinate to, the Imperial Parliament; it is quite another thing to compound a new assembly of Clergy and Laity which cannot come into any active and real operation without some invasion, or, to say the least of it, some modification of the rights and powers of Parliament.

Parliament is either fit to deal with questions of Church law upon their merits, or it has become unfit to do so. The latter branch of the alternative I deny—though I admit fully that recent modifications of the constitution of Parliament have made necessary renewed precautions on the part of the Church. But if Parliament be fit, *sub modo*, to deal with questions of Church law upon their merits—as I maintain it is—and if it still expresses the judgment of the Laity upon all such questions, the true position of the Laity in respect of Church Legislation is already provided to our hands, without so great an invasion of our Constitution in Church and State as must take place upon any admission of the Laity into the assembly of the Spirituality.

For these reasons, and from a sincere wish to preserve and improve the just position of the Laity, and from no unworthy jealousy, I am at a loss to understand what room there is for the introduction of representatives of the Laity into the assembly of the Spirituality.

I am for a truer and more adequate representation of the Spirituality than is supplied by the existing constitution of Convocation; and with this reform in its constitution—or even without it—and with the permission granted by the Crown that questions of Church Law should be submitted to Convocation before being discussed in Parliament, I should have no fear that Clergy and Laity could not work together in great harmony for the good of the Church, and therein for the good of the entire people.

To R. Phillimore, Esq., D.C.L.

EAST BRENT, 24th December 1852.

Gladstone's letter to you seems to me quite beside the question, and not of the clearest.

The question is, Is Gladstone going to make, or has he made, a Government with the Whigs? This would settle the fact of a coalition. What may or may not have taken place before the division is, I apprehend, nothing to the purpose.

Any coalition between Gladstone and the Liberals for the purpose of making a Government, I, for one, shall regard as fatal and decisive, and shall deal with accordingly.

To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.

EAST BRENT, Christmas Day, 1852.

The day on which I make this communication to you adds more than I can express in words to my deep pain, and to my sense of responsibility in making it.

After a week of anxious suspense, the fact of the existence of a Coalition Government (*i.e.* of a Government in which you are joined with Lord John Russell) with Lord Lansdowne in the Cabinet, may be said to be ascertained.

I wish to use few words, where every one I write is so bitterly distressing to me, and must, I cannot doubt, be

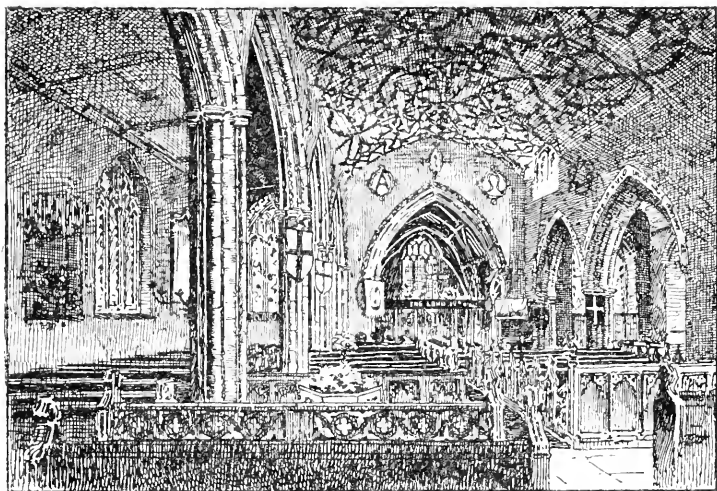
little less so to yourself, and to many others whom I respect and love.

I have, then, to state to you, as one of your Constituents, that from this time I can place no confidence in you as Representative of the University of Oxford, or as a public man.

I have read and re-read your published letter to R. Phillimore. I am obliged to say that it appears to me to be a matter of no importance at all, and quite beside the question, whether the "Concert" or "Combination" or "Coalition" was effected previous to, or at the time of, or subsequent to, the late division.

I reserve to myself the right of forwarding this letter for publication by Tuesday's post, and also any reply which you may make to it. I will only say by way of anticipation, that any amount of guarantee which may have been taken by you in accepting office in the new Government,¹ for non-aggression upon the Church of England, or for the concession of her just claims, is, in my judgment, absolutely valueless when weighed against the fact of the coalition.

¹ Mr Gladstone accepted the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer.



INTERIOR OF CHURCH, EAST BRENT.

1853-1859.

THE Oxford University Election of 1853 was hotly contested, Archdeacon Denison supporting Mr Perceval against Mr Gladstone, who, however, won the seat by a majority of 129. The line taken by the Archdeacon divided him, for a time, from many of his friends, as appears by the letters to Mr Keble. Nevertheless, though his allies were scattered, he continued his unremitting fight for the Church Schools, and endeavoured to bring over Mr Gladstone to his views. In the summer of 1853, the Rev. J. Ditcher, Vicar of the neighbouring parish of South Brent, brought an action against Archdeacon Denison, on account of three sermons which he had preached in Wells Cathedral, on the Holy Communion, that were asserted to contain doctrine contrary to the teaching of the Church of England.

Mr Ditcher was the ostensible mover, but he was

backed up by the leaders of the "Evangelical Alliance." The suit—which would, in the event of the Archdeacon's condemnation, have involved the loss of his living—was begun at Bath, and carried from Court to Court during the next four years, until it reached the Privy Council.

The letters at this time show that Archdeacon Denison's friends rallied round him. He was defended by his brother-in-law, Mr R. Phillimore, and was finally acquitted, 23rd April, 1857, and on his return from London all his parishioners came to Highbridge Station to welcome him and Mrs Denison home.

The other letters of this period are occupied with the question of Church and State, the publication of Dr Pusey's book, "Doctrine of the Real Presence," the proceedings of the National Society, and the Church Rates, then in danger of attack.

COMMITTEE ROOM,
MAGDALEN HALL, *5th January 1853.*

In nominating Mr Perceval yesterday, I used some expressions which presented themselves to my mind as natural and proper to be employed on his behalf.

I was very sorry to find that I was at once understood as insinuating that what I claimed for Mr Perceval was to be denied to Mr Gladstone.¹

I am not in the habit of insinuating charges which I do not state, and I could not state what I know to be not true.

I have as deep a respect for Mr Gladstone's private character as any one of those who are still his political supporters, as high an admiration of his great talents, as affectionate a reverence for his unblemished life.

My quarrel with him is simply this: He has made himself a member of a Coalition Government, the fact of

¹ On 4th January, Mr Gladstone was proposed for the second time by Dr Hawkins, Provost of Oriel, as Member for Oxford University, while Mr Perceval was proposed by Archdeacon Denison.

whose existence I hold that no circumstances either have, or could have, justified ; the conditions of whose existence, so far as they are intelligible, I absolutely distrust ; the mischief of which is, I fear, not to be repaired, and which therefore upon every consideration, political, moral and religious, I am bound to resist.

To the Rev. J. Keble

EAST BRENT, 12th February 1853.

They are poor words to use when I say that I write—what will, I fear, be my last letter to you—with bitter pain.

I am scarcely surprised by your letter after what I had heard from you previously. I feel most keenly what I must call the great injustice of it.

I have never said, or implied, that Gladstone's conduct upon the Management Clause question was *the* reason of my opposition to him. I have adduced it certainly, but it is as one instance out of many of the grounds of my opposition.

I have not told the world yet what probably I shall tell it very soon—that Gladstone was the first man who, in 1847, moved me to fight the Management Clause question.

I am unable to admit in any degree the justice of your reasoning upon the point of the non-participation of some, or many, of the Bishops—whichever it may be—in the act of the Committee of the National Society, in June last, in answer to your Memorial—the effect of which Act, as they agreed upon between us, was the withdrawal of my resolution on the same subject. You will agree with me, I think, that, if I had contemplated that that Act would not take effect, I could not have so withdrawn my Resolution, and that if I find it has not taken effect, I am bound to revert to it.

Your withdrawal from any active concurrence with me cuts from under my feet, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, my last human dependence in this matter.

I will hope still that some day you will come to judge me less harshly, and more truly.

To the Rev. J. Keble

EAST BRENT, 13th February 1853.

I should wish to add to my letter of yesterday, and to submit to you the following considerations.

1. That if it be now impossible that you can concur with me in any general course of co-operation on behalf of the Church, still this impossibility cannot surely be made to extend to that particular co-operation for the *bona fide* maintenance of the teaching of the Church Catechism in Schools in Union with the National Society, which we commenced conjointly last year, and the issue of which is still pending.

2. That if you are still willing, as I trust you are, to continue this particular co-operation, we should advise together in what manner it will be best to carry out what we began last year. To this end I think you will see that it will be quite essential that your co-operation should be forward and active—indeed that it should be yourself, and not I, who should be most prominent in it—though I am quite willing to be spokesman, if there should be occasion and if you desire it.

3. That if you decide—which may God forbid—to sever our partnership, even in respect of this particular co-operation, you should let me know your final decision as soon as you can, in order that I may see what can be done in the matter.

You are in favour of Gladstone¹—I am absolutely and definitely against Gladstone. I will not enter into my grounds here; they are much more than ample to my mind—and this may doubtless be a very sufficient reason why we cannot co-operate generally. But upon this particular point of the maintaining the rule of the National Society about the teaching of the Catechism in Schools in Union, you are as much against Gladstone as I am. As long ago as 1838, Gladstone moved and carried in the Com-

¹ Mr Keble said in reply: "In consequence of what you told me about W. E. G., I have made some enquiries on the part he took in 1838 (at which time he was still, I imagine, the Gladstone of his 'Church and State' Book), and I believe from what I can learn that the concessions he advocated were much the same as Lord Lyttelton advocated last year—with which I could not quarrel as a matter of principle, though there might be difference in details."

mittee of the Correspondence of the National Society the relaxation of that rule. This resolution was set aside by the General Committee it is true, but that does not alter his position. I think, therefore, I have a strong claim upon you for your continued co-operation in this particular.

*To the Rev. Mayow W. Mayow*¹

LONDON, 18th February 1853.

Your letter is like yourself—very kind and very clear. I wrote in the hurry of the Convocation morning, and if I said anything to misstate your meaning, or to cause you any pain, you know how sorry I must be for it. . . .

I have a very clear opinion that whatever Keble may think about other matters, he is bound not only to go along with this, but to be the leader in it, and to carry it through with such assistance as we can give him. If he declines, I shall do it myself, quite irrespective of any support which I may or may not receive.

I have never thought much of Church parties, but I will not believe, till I see it, that my opposition to Gladstone is to have any effect in preventing Churchmen from continuing and increasing the exertions already begun to secure the *bona fide* teaching of the Catechism. Nor can I believe that Keble is seriously proposing to set an example allowing disapproval of my opposition to affect in any way the conduct of this question.

The bishops, being all members of the Committee which passed the Resolution, are, in my judgment, clearly bound either to act upon it at the time, or, as soon after as they could, publicly to declare that they did not intend to act upon it.

To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone

EAST BRENT, 6th April 1853.

I have opposed you, and doubtless must do so again, but for old recollections' sake I will allow myself to make one more attempt to call your attention to the enclosed brief statement.

¹ Vicar of East Lavington, near Devizes.

There are two ways—and, so far as I can see, two only—in which, under the Management Clause system, it is possible to provide, in any degree, for the legitimate liberty of Members of the Church of England in framing the Constitution of their schools in such manner as may appear to them to be necessary to insure that the office of the Parish Clergyman, and the authority committed unto him, not for his own sake, but for the people, shall be respected and maintained.

1. To allow to founders of schools, in all cases in which they may desire it, to have Clause E.

2. If this, which is, I believe, the simplest and the best way of dealing with the matter, be refused, then to preserve the option of introducing into all and each of the Clauses the provisions of the Minute of 12th June 1852.

No one, I think, who understands this question can admit that the Minute proposed to be substituted for that of 12th June, 1852, is of any value whatsoever as a substitute.

It is something that we are to have a Bill. This will at least secure the discussion in both Houses of what I must call a most unnecessary interference and a most unprovoked hardship.

*To the Rev. Dr Wolff*¹

EAST BRENT, 27th July 1853.

My kind friends, and yourself among them, will not, I am sure, think me unmindful of their care and anxiety, or disposed needlessly to begin a great controversy, when I say that I have a very clear opinion formed, after long and patient consideration of the whole case, that their counsel is not good.

And to say plain truth, I cannot understand the counsel itself, or the grounds of it. It is a great mistake to suppose that the point at issue is in any sense a negative point. What I look to is not so much—as I have told Pusey—an authoritative sentence of the Church, which there is

¹ Joseph Wolff (b. 1795), son of a Jewish Rabbi of the tribe of Levi, converted to Christianity, was a great linguist, traveller and missionary; married, 1827, Lady Georgina Walpole, daughter of the Earl of Orford. He held the living of Ille Brewers, Somerset, from 1845, till his death in 1862.

no present prospect of obtaining—much less a sentence of a Church Court—but a discussion, because the truth must gain thereby. At the same time I desire to do what I can to put matters in train for reference of all such questions to fitting and competent authority.

I shall be glad that our friends with whose concurrence you wrote should see this letter.¹

To the Rev. Dr Wolff

EAST BRENT, 1st August 1853.

You are a kind friend—only a great deal too kind—and you say things of me which I have no manner of title to.

I daresay there is a great battle before us—and good it is that there should be, because what is fought for humbly and faithfully, God will win for us.

It is wrong to be impatient with anybody and about anything; but it brings me very near impatience, if not into it, when I am told that Court of Arches or Privy Council, or both of them, will probably decide against the Faith.

I don't believe a syllable of it, even of them, and if they did, it is not worth a rush.

It would indeed not be an easy matter for them so to decide in this case and as against me, in the face of 1 Eliz.—*Sursum Corda!*²

¹ This and several following letters refer to the indictment brought by the Rev. Mr Ditcher, Vicar of South Brent, against Archdeacon Denison, for having preached three sermons in Wells Cathedral containing doctrines on the subject of the Real Presence repugnant to the Thirty-Nine Articles.

² 1 Eliz. cap 1, when establishing the Queen's supremacy and the High Commissioners' Court, declared that it should not "have power to adjudge any matter or cause to be heresy, but only such as hath heretofore been adjudged to be heresy by the authority of the canonical scriptures or by some of the first four General Councils, or by any other General Council wherein the same was declared heresy by the express and plain words of the said canonical Scriptures or such as hereafter shall be judged or determined to be heresy by the High Court of Parliament with the assent of the Clergy in Convocation."—*Note by Sir Walter Phillimore.*

To the Rev. E. J. Carter

EAST BRENT, *St Luke's Day*, 1853.

Thank you much for your letter and comments. I am not prepared to say that I can admit the force of them, but I will consider them again very carefully.

The point upon which we should part company is, I apprehend, that I maintain that nothing can put an excommunicate person in the same position as a heathen; because nothing but God's final reprobation can unmake his Baptism. He is a sinner of a peculiar kind, *i.e.*, his offence is not only against the Moral Law, but against the ordinance of the Church. He sins against Moral Law and against positive law; but he is not, and cannot be, a heathen, because he has been baptized.

I should say, therefore, that your analogy is not good from the heathen to the excommunicate.

To D. H. Perceval, Esq.

EAST BRENT, *19th January* 1854.

The coming election¹ appears to me to be even more important than that of last year, because, if it is settled in the Gladstonian sense, it will be conclusive evidence of what the University is prepared to accept upon what is called "University Reform." I think, therefore, that it must be fought, and, besides, it is to be considered that any return of a Gladstonian now will so confirm the position of Gladstone himself as to make it impossible even to shake it at any future time. I can hardly think it likely that the Low Churchmen—I use the term in default of a better—will be inclined to surrender the seat.

How the battle is to be fought is the next question. You know that it was not at my suggestion that you came forward and stood in the breach—though I gladly and thankfully accepted you, and, under peculiar circumstances, nominated you. If it is decided that you fight the battle again, I shall as gladly and thankfully support you.

¹ Sir Robert Inglis resigned his seat for the University of Oxford (which he had represented in nine successive Parliaments), on account of ill health. Sir William Heathcote was elected in his place.

Whatever is decided upon, I trust it will be very carefully considered, and in your own spirit of manfulness and honesty.

*To the Right Hon. J. W. Henley, M.P.*¹

EAST BRENT, 9th February 1854.

It is the anxious and affectionate kindness of friends, and the concern felt on their account, and not the attempts of adversaries, that make the trial in a case like this.

If any request for explanation of statements of Doctrine contained in my two sermons come to me from my own Bishop, I shall, as I am both in duty and affection bound, consider the request respectfully, patiently, carefully.

But I can hold out no expectation of my being able to give any explanation other than that contained in the sermons themselves. I should distrust myself altogether if I were to attempt it, either with or without advice as to the manner of it; and the mischief of any such attempt appears to me in various ways quite incalculable.

To Arthur Marshall, Esq.

EAST BRENT,
S. PHILIP AND S. JAMES, 1854.

I am thankful to have your letter. Men who put the "accident" of Churchmen or of the Church into the place of the Church herself, will always be disposed thereby to desert the Church of England for the Church of Rome.

There is no surer way of helping Rome than to teach mere negation. In one place in your letter you speak of what I say about gathering conclusions from the general tone of writers. I do not remember to have counselled this.

My desire is to warn men, either in the ministry or preparing for it, against the bringing the opinion of individual Doctors of the Church, however eminent, into the

¹ Of Waterperry, Oxon.—many years M.P. for Oxfordshire, and sometime President of the Board of Trade. Father of Mrs George Denison. He died 1884.

place either of Inspiration or of the authoritative witness of the Church.

I tell all men therefore in such case to go first to the Bible, second to the Prayer Book, third, but in a wholly subordinate sense, to the judgment, as recorded in their writings, of individual doctors of eminent learning and piety, who have themselves gone through this same process.

Now it is very common everywhere to reverse the process. But Hooker, and Taylor, and Andrewes, and Bull, and Sanderson, etc., etc., were great men indeed, but their writings are not the Bible nor the Prayer Book.

To R. Phillimore, Esq., M.P.

EAST BRENT, 4th September 1854.

This morning has brought me, with your own kind letter, one from Wilberforce, of which I enclose a copy.

His resignation¹ may possibly make a diversion in respect of proceedings against me,—or it may make the appetite for them more keen.

Anyhow, it is one more scene played out in the drama of the downfall of the Establishment. "*Mole ruit sua.*"

I have had nothing yet in the shape of an official notice of the issuing of a Commission, and think I had best wait till I receive it before leaving home. I have no curate, and my daily service, etc., makes leaving home a difficulty.

I take it for granted that if a Commission issue in my case, I shall have the earliest official notice of it.

To Lord Auckland, Bishop of Bath and Wells

EAST BRENT, 7th September 1854.

I enclose a copy of a letter received this morning from the Archbishop of Canterbury.²

Under these circumstances I think it will be best that I

¹ Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce, on 30th August 1854, resigned his preferment, and subsequently joined the Church of Rome.

² With regard to the suit against the Archdeacon. The Most Rev. J. B. Sumner was then Archbishop.

should not meet your Lordship, as I had fully proposed to do at Ilminster and Crewkerne.

I leave home this morning to consult with legal and other advisers.

To Lord Auckland, Bishop of Bath and Wells

EAST BRENT, 15th September 1854.

I returned last night, and found among others your most kind letter.

I think it due to you that I should keep you exactly informed of all the steps which I take in this matter.

I beg therefore to enclose copies—

First, of a communication which I make this day to the Archbishop.

Second, of a letter received by me from Mr Ditcher, and of my answer to it.

To Lord Auckland, Bishop of Bath and Wells

EAST BRENT, 3rd October 1854.

I have no answer of any kind this morning to my letter to the Archbishop, of 30th September.

Having reviewed very carefully, since yesterday, the step which I then took—after long and painful consideration—of sending to the Archbishop my letter of yesterday's date, enclosing Protest No. II.—of both of which your Lordship will have received copies this morning—I am entirely satisfied that I was bound to take that step, at this time, under the circumstances of the position which has now been forced upon me by the Archbishop; as also under the circumstances of the position in which the Archbishop stands before the public, as endeavouring to strain the Law, for the purpose of eliminating—so far as such a thing can be done by any process of Law—the Catholic character of the Church of England. I contend, openly and unreservedly, for entire and unquestioned liberty to teach all Catholic Doctrine, as a Priest of the Church of England, because I

know of no Catholic Doctrine which is not embodied in the formularies of the Church of England.

I have never had any desire to interfere, by Process of Law, with those who teach what I cannot teach. I claim the same non-interference at their hands with myself.

If they deny it to me, and my position as a beneficed Minister of the Church of England is affected thereby in any manner or degree, this must be done by the act of others.

It will never be done by any act of my own.

To the Right Hon. J. W. Henley, M.P.

EAST BRENT, 6th October 1854.

I cannot, whatever may come of it, regret Protest II. Indeed, till I had made it, and published it, I felt very keenly indeed that I was standing upon only a very small portion of the ground which it behoved me to occupy, and this the least important portion of it.

For whether I make good my legal position, is in the end a very small matter; whether I do all that in me lies to maintain truth of Doctrine is a very great matter.

May not one principal cause of our viewing my course of action so differently be, that I hold the specific point I am contending for to be essential to the truth of the Doctrine¹ of the Real Presence, and that you, contending equally with myself for the truth of the Real Presence, do not hold the point in question to be essential? It would follow necessarily, in such case, that I should feel myself bound to a course of action, the necessity of which you would not admit.

This is the key, as it seems to me, to such amount of difference of judgment as there has been between us in this whole matter.

¹ The Archdeacon was at first charged with teaching that the Act of Consecration causes the Bread and Wine, though remaining in their natural substances, to have the Body and Blood of Christ really though spiritually joined to them, so that to receive the one is to receive the other, and that the wicked and unbelieving eat and drink the Body and Blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper just as much as the faithful. ("Life of the Rev. E. B. Pusey," ed. 1894; vol. iii. p. 429).

To the Right Hon. J. W. Henley, M.P.

EAST BRENT, 7th November 1854.

I go up to-day to Phillimore's for a conference. My view of the position is this:—

I have formally protested against the legality: the enemy assumes the legality.

Neither my Protest nor his assumption disprove or prove it. What is wanted is to test the value of the Protest, or of the assumption, in a Court of Law.

I think, therefore that as soon as the Commission is actually issued,¹ and prior to all other steps in defence, I ought to move for a prohibition. Without this, any appearance made on my behalf before the Commission, or any other step taken in defence in consequence of any proceedings upon their Report, will be virtually to admit the legality, and it will be said, and said justly, that I never meant the Protest about it to be carried out, and that it was only an attempt to frighten the Archbishop.

I should be very sorry to put myself in a position to have this said of me. What say you upon the point?

To the Rev. Dr Pusey

EAST BRENT, 6th November 1854.

I could not thank you, and so I will not try. I go to London to-day to make the necessary affidavits with the view of moving for Prohibition² on Monday next. It was decided to do so yesterday. It is a real grief to me not to be able at once to fall in with your counsel. But I shrink, as I have done throughout, from qualifying the "*reception*." Article XXV uses "*receive*" alike of those who eat and drink worthily and of those who eat and drink unworthily, and I think there are other instances of this use, but I have

¹ It was issued 21st December 1854.

² The Court of Queen's Bench refused (24th November) Sir F. Thesiger's Application for a Rule prohibiting the Archbishop of Canterbury from proceeding, under the Church Discipline Act, against Archdeacon Denison.

no time at this moment to verify them. The whole difference has appeared to me to attach not to the "reception," but to the "effect or operation," and to be as such most clearly set out in the concluding paragraph of Article XXV.

To the Rev. J. Keble

EAST BRENT, *St Andrew's Day*, 1854.

The words in your letter of 27th inst.—"I hope that you feel that you would not again provoke such an attack without more necessity than in this case"¹—call for some more formal answer than I was able to give yesterday.

Not by way of personal exculpation—for no man who knows all the facts of the case, which very few do, can say that I have causelessly provoked the present issue.

Nor again by way of personal remonstrance. The whole matter is quite out of the reach of personal consideration, and if it were not, I am too grateful for all your affectionate kindness to feel aggrieved by any words of yours.

But by way of putting on record the truth of the case.

What has really provoked the present issue is the unfaithfulness of Bishops and Clergy in 1850, and since.

The Bishops who could stand by and not repudiate collectively, on behalf of the Church, the decision of 1850, in respect of the Holy Sacrament of Baptism—the Clergy who could stand by and not press for such repudiation by the Bishops with all their energies of body and soul—have no cause to complain that a very few years have sufficed to bring up a formal and deadly assault upon the truth of the Holy Sacrament of the Lord's Supper. The acceptance of the "*inclusio falsi*" has led, as it is just it should, to the attempt to compass the "*exclusio veri*."

What will be the faithfulness of Bishops and Clergy now seems difficult to estimate; I fear and in part anticipate the worst. I enclose a copy of a paper which I have sent to Richards. Will you let Pusey see it—and this letter if you please.

¹ Mr Keble in his reply says: "Withal, believe that I love you most sincerely, and I shall try what I can to stand by you, or rather the truth that you hold."

*To the Rev. Cecil Wray*¹

EAST BRENT, 6th December 1854.

I hope I have not vexed you, which I should be most sorry to do. Let me say quite frankly "High Churchmen" are an odd class. If a man goes to Rome, he has "a conscience." If a man has no thought of Rome—as I have no thought, nor ever had—and is forced, in defending himself against a formal charge of unsound doctrine, formally and publicly to maintain the entire Doctrine of the Church of England, that man is "indiscreet"—his conscience goes for nothing with "High Churchmen."

No man who knows the facts of the case can venture to say that I have provoked this issue. I have no fear about it, but it would be difficult to say how ill I think of the position and prospects of the High Church.

Which are most in earnest? Evangelicals who deny the doctrine of the Sacrament—and so do all they can to destroy it—or High Churchmen who affirm, but do not defend it?

I daresay I have to thank you for *Liverpool Mail*. The writer of the article is one of those friends who do most harm. Nothing is so injurious as taking exceptions generally to doctrinal statements without specifying the exact things objected to.

Again, it is to be noted that it was not any error in doctrine, but only something which seemed open to objection in my manner of teaching, that the late Bishop remarked upon.

*To the Archdeacon of Cleveland*²

EAST BRENT, 7th December 1854.

That which makes me sick at heart is that English Churchmen should be busying themselves about nothing so much as about attempting to find explanations why they need not be under any apprehension in respect of the present proceedings.

¹ Vicar of St Martin's, Toxteth Park, Liverpool.

² Rev. William Hay, Canon Residentiary of York, and Vicar of St Helen's, York.

I respect "Evangelicals" who, denying the Doctrine of the Sacraments, do all they can to destroy it from amongst us; I respect the London "Protestants" who desire to "eradicate from our Services Sacramental Doctrines" (see *Guardian*, 6th inst.); but, forgive me when I say it, I do not respect "High Churchmen" who affirm the Doctrine of the Sacraments, but do not defend it, or, what is yet worse, explain it away under Protestant pressure. This is indeed the "Conservatism" of Religion, and will, I doubt not, have a like miserable issue in respect of the Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist, as it has had already in respect of Church school teaching and the Doctrine of Holy Baptism.

As soon as Pusey had read and considered the eight counts of the charge against me (see *Guardian* of 15th November), he wrote to me saying in two successive letters: 1. "It is war to the knife's-blade against the truth." 2. "It is war of extermination, so far as man is not withheld by God."

To Robert Phillimore, Esq., M.P.

EAST BRENT, 23rd January 1855.

I send you a letter from Osborne Gordon. I am always much amused, and a little provoked too, when clergy touch law.

"I have seen the Act," etc., "I have no manner of doubt of so-and-so, but I have no documents, etc., etc."

I don't quite make out his point, as he puts it, but it has, I think, been considered. However, he is a good and an able man, and a kind friend. I have told him that I have sent his letter to you. I have no official tidings. Don't you think that if Bath and Wells has again formally refused Ditcher's application against me, as I am assured he has, I ought to have a copy of such refusal? I was left in July last to gather the fact anyhow I could, and thought it odd then, but it seems odder now. It is a document, under every aspect, of primary importance to me, but no copy of it is in my hands, and I know nothing officially even of any such refusal having been made.

To the Rev. E. J. Carter

EAST BRENT, 17th September 1855.

I have always felt the question of the revival of Catechising in Church to be a very difficult one, when the almost universal existence of day and Sunday schools is taken into account.

I have had it in my own Church some years, but then it is at a third service established by me specially to the end that the children might have a second service without being out at night.

Your position is, however, I think unassailable on grounds of truth and reason; and having been taken as matter of plain duty to the Church, and as part of the spiritual charge of your people, I do not see how, or on what grounds, it may be receded from.

But supposing for a moment that the mind of the parishioners is to be consulted in such a matter, it seems clear to me that not only those who move against you, but yourself also, are bound to ascertain, on very different evidence than mere assertion, that it is the mind of the parishioners generally that you should alter your practice in any respect; otherwise you would be abandoning a certain position for one wholly uncertain. I see all the difficulty and all the objections to the collection of such evidence, supposing it granted that it is right to seek it at all; but then the onus is principally on those who originate the opposition. What do the poor say? They have at least an equal voice in the matter.

To Robert Phillimore, Esq., M.P.

EAST BRENT, 16th November 1855.

This intelligence does not in the least surprise me, nor cause me any disquiet. I have all along fully expected them to move; and I think it is the best thing that they can do, both in its public aspect and privately as respects myself.

I shall keep wholly quiet myself, and so far as I have any control over others, shall keep them quiet also.

The only point upon which I feel any anxiety is lest, in moving for the mandamus, the Counsel should not keep within the facts of the case as regards the late Bishop.¹

Any public imputation cast upon me through a misrepresentation of the exact relations between the late Bishop and myself, as Bishop and examining Chaplain, would force me to break a silence which upon all accounts I am most desirous to keep.

To the Right Hon. J. W. Henley, M.P.

EAST BRENT, 9th May 1856.

It is with some considerable reluctance that, at every point at which the Archbishop's course appears to be of doubtful legality, I raise the question of such legality, for I know well what colour has been, and is, given to my doing so.

But it is with no misgiving, because I am clearly bound to see, so far as I may, that no wrong precedent is set up in respect of the law of the case.

If, therefore, the Archbishop has exceeded his jurisdiction in citing me to London, I am for stopping his action in this particular, as in all particulars which are not according to law.

But if he has not exceeded his jurisdiction, or if, having done so, his action cannot be stopped, it is clear to me that the natural and proper course is to appear (under protest) and make defence in the first instance *in extenso* before him.

The charge is a charge of false doctrine, and I am cited to answer it before my Metropolitan.

My first duty is to see that the doctrinal question is fully answered in all its branches.

My second duty is if I can, to save myself from deprivation.

¹ Bishop R. Bagot, of Bath and Wells, died in 1854. Archdeacon Denison says: "I had been his examining Chaplain from 1845 to 1854. I resigned the Chaplaincy when I had to fight the battle of the Real Presence, not at all because my very dear old friend, Bishop Bagot, wished me to resign, nor because he did not hold the Doctrine—which he did hold as I did—but because I wished to fight for my own hand—because I wanted to keep myself clear to fight my own battle."—(Supplement to "Notes of my Life," p. 68.)

To the Rev. J. Keble

EAST BRENT, 11th October 1856.

I had a very kind letter from Pusey yesterday, in the same sense as your own. I send you copy of my answer. I should be glad also that you should send him this letter.

You will readily understand me when I say that I find it extremely difficult to write about these things, and just now I cannot leave home. If after reading this letter you and Pusey should think it worth while, I need not say how glad we should be to see you both any day this week.

1. What the practical result as bearing upon my future teaching—of adopting and substituting for my own statements any statements of others—would be, seems to me not easy to say. The legal bearing of it I have not had explained to me, and do not understand.

But so much as this I see quite plainly, that it carries with it an admission that my own language is open to just exception.

Now, not only am I unable in my conscience to admit this to any extent, but it must be borne in mind that no demand has been made upon me to alter or modify my language, and no proof tendered that it is such as ought to be altered or modified.

Under these circumstances I do not see how it would be possible for me to meet the imputation—with all its enormous evil to the Church—that together with the words I had agreed to sacrifice the things; for indeed the controversy is not about words at all, but about things. Our opponent put this out quite plainly and fearlessly. No altering or modifying of my language could make any peace.

2. Then as to putting out any new statement of my own. I do not see my way to this without in doing it putting my hand to something which my opponents would sign as well as myself. Now I am sure I shall not be asked to do anything of this kind.

Now the whole controversy is wrapped up in this—what is the exact meaning of the word "Sacrament"?¹

¹ In the Statement read in Court by Dr Phillimore were these words: "What is a Sacrament we ask, and of what is it composed?"

A Sacrament is defined by the Church in the Catechism as "an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto

To the Rev. Dr Pusey

EAST BRENT, 13th October 1856.

Let me say only a few words in explanation of what is, I think, easily explained.

I have from the first acquiesced in the putting in of the legal pleas, because it is not to be disputed that a man, who is a member of a Church established by Law, must be tried and convicted, if tried and convicted at all, according to Law.¹

But such acquiescence is surely a very different thing from shaping a document, in which I decline to revoke my teaching, with the express view of enabling a Common Law Court, after sentence given by the Court Ecclesiastical, to upset that sentence on a technical ground.

I may add that it has never been in any way explained to me in what precise manner it is supposed that the use of

us": and further it is added this outward sign and inward grace are respectively the "two parts" that go to make up a Sacrament, as the "reasonable soul and flesh make up one man." Hence, it follows, take away either part, either the outward or the inward, and the very "nature of a Sacrament is overthrown." (Art. 28).

A Sacrament is "dissolved," that which was a Sacrament is not a Sacrament.

¹ The formal stages of Archdeacon Denison's trial were these:—The Archbishop, sitting in lieu of the bishop—under the directions of the Clergy Discipline Act, that when the bishop was patron the Archbishop should take his place—and having Dr Lushington as his assessor, and other assessors, pronounced Archdeacon Denison's teaching heretical, and deprived him unless he recanted.

An appeal was taken from this decision on several grounds—one being on the merits that it was wrong, another being on a preliminary question that the suit was out of date, the Clergy Discipline Act fixing two years as the utmost limit within which suits could be brought, and on other points.

The Judge of the Court of Arches said it was impossible for him, the Archbishop's Judge, to sit on appeal from the Archbishop. To this it was replied that the Archbishop was not sitting as Archbishop, or in his inherent Church right, but only under an Act of Parliament as the substitute for the bishop, and was to be treated as a bishop only.

The Court of Queen's Bench on being applied to said that this was so, and by mandamus ordered the Judge of the Arches Court to hear the appeal.

On the appeal being opened before him, he suggested that the preliminary objection, that the suit was brought too late, should be argued first before him; because if that objection succeeded, there was no real trial, and the decision of the Archbishop could be reversed at

the language pressed upon me would operate as helping a Prohibition, and I do not understand it, though I have pondered much upon it.

When other Bishops of the Church of England shall have made public formal protest against the decision of the Archbishop sitting in Court, then, but not till then, will it be in our power to say that the Archbishop's decision is of little weight.

To the Rev. Dr Pusey

EAST BRENT, 15th October 1856.

Thank you much for your letter. I am very glad to hear that you are going to deal with this matter.

If the Court should intimate—what it has not yet intimated—a disposition to accept, in lieu of my own statements, the statements of one or more of our great divines, to be selected by myself, in the precise sense which I attach to those specific statements, I would consider of the matter.

But it seems impossible to suppose that the Court will make any such intimation, because it would be a confession that its own position was untenable, and not only could it gain nothing by the intimation, but it would lose all that is involved in the comparison between the authority of such divine, or divines, and my own.

As little could they accept it if I were to offer it—and yet it is the utmost that I could offer.

once without considering either the merits or the other objections to the procedure.

His suggestion was adopted, and after hearing both sides he promptly disagreed with Dr Lushington and the Archbishop, said they might have held that the suit was too late and never have tried it, and he reversed the Archbishop's decision.

From this reversal the Promoter-Prosecutor, Mr Ditcher, appealed to the Privy Council; but the Privy Council agreed with the Arches Court, and so the cause came to an end, and the Archdeacon was dismissed from the proceedings, in March 1858.

I believe (but am not positive) that in all there were five points of objection to the Archbishop's decision, of which the first in logical and historical order would be that the suit was too late, and the last that the Archbishop was wrong in deciding the teaching to be heresy; but I do not know what the three intermediate points were.

I believe also that Archdeacon Denison wished to rely on the last point only and fight nothing but the question of heresy, but that his legal advisers would not allow him to discard any of his grounds of appeal.—*Note by Sir Walter Phillimore.*

*To Mrs Denison*¹

BATH, 22nd October 1856.

I trust that you have been as prepared for the sentence of the Court as ourselves. I have never anticipated anything else, nor has dear Georgie, nor, I think, any one who had the means of knowing all the case. That the sentence will be reversed upon Appeal I have as little doubt—that is, no doubt.

If, therefore, we can think of you as cheerful and hopeful about it as ourselves, we shall not have much left to wish.

Georgie's dear father is with us, and of untold comfort. She is gone out with him. I have just been to the station with Robert,² who has, as before, done all that kindness and great ability could do. Harry³ very kindly came yesterday. We go back to East Brent to-morrow morning.

To Mrs Denison

25th November 1856.

Our Church is looking very nice, having had a thorough repair and cleaning inside and out. We have never any difficulty about Church Rate here, and I find now that some of the Parishioners are beginning of their own accord to discuss taking away the square pews at the North and South side, and replacing them with open seats,⁴ like the middle of the Church.

I have never pressed this, preferring to let it work its own way, and I hope now it may be done next year.

God bless you, my dearest mother!

¹ His mother, daughter of S. Estwick, Esq., and wife of John Denison, Esq., of Ossington, Notts. She died 26th January 1859.

² R. Phillimore, Esq., D.C.L.

³ J. H. Jacob, Esq., his brother-in-law.

⁴ These had beautifully carved ends, and came from Glastonbury Abbey.

*To the Rev. Archer Gurney*¹

EAST BRENT, 20th December 1856.

Your kind letter is most welcome. One point you will, I know, allow me to say a few words upon presently.

First, however, let me state exactly what was the position in 1853. At Christmas, 1852, I had told the candidates for the Priesthood that at Christmas, 1853, I should expect to find them prepared to affirm the receiving of the inward part, or thing signified, of the Sacrament by all. Upon this ensued the controversy with Bishop Spencer, and the reference to my Bishop, etc., etc., in the spring and summer of 1853. I have always thought that the great blot in the poor (so-called) attempts to vindicate the Doctrine of Holy Baptism, in 1850, and since, has been the dealing with Infant Baptism as if it were in its essence a different thing from Adult Baptism.

Now, then, let me say that few things have grieved me so much in this matter as that not a few should, so to speak, take refuge in the theory of withdrawal.

The doubtful evidence of one passage in S. Cyprian is, I think, all that is to be found in support of it in antiquity, a bit of poetry of Ken's, and something in Jewel—all among our own great men.

In Scripture nothing—in analogy nothing.

I do not know that I can express what is, I am persuaded, the Truth, better than in the words of Kahnis, quoted in my "Saravia":² "Undoubtedly the Spirit also of Christ and Life do, together with His Body, enter into the unworthy recipient, but not their saving Virtue: (the Res, but not the Virtus); but just as the Word, it, too, is a savour of death unto Death—a Judge."

To a Friend

EAST BRENT, 23rd December 1856.

I believe that the year 1856 will close with a state of things in Church of England, compared with which all that has happened yet is child's play.

¹ Then Curate of Buckingham.

² "Saravia on the Holy Eucharist," translated from the Latin by Archdeacon Denison. Ed. 1853. See p. 211.

The marvel is—if anything in the history of men's delusions be a marvel—that men should persuade themselves that an "Establishment," which shall also be a "Church," can have any permanent existence in a country which proclaims "civil and religious liberty."

It is not impossible indeed that such a country should be by the long-suffering of God once more gathered into the fold of "the Church"; but if its entire course be to deal with what is left to it of the Church as England has dealt, I suppose that no man who knows what a Church is has any such hope in her case.

I believe myself, that the mischief began from the middle of the sixteenth century, *i.e.* from the moment when our Rulers in Church and State introduced the "comprehensive" principle, under which priests of opposite and contrary modes of belief touching the Apostolical Succession and the Doctrine of the Sacraments might legally be endowed ministers of the same Church.

But whether this be admitted or no, I suppose that no man will dispute that the "anti-Church" principle was distinctly and formally promulgated in 1688.

Our whole ecclesiastical history since that time has been that of a Church struggling feebly, and most unsuccessfully, to escape strangling at the hands of the Establishment. Perhaps it would be more correct to say that during long periods there was no struggle at all, but a simple submission to the process. The process seems now to have pretty well reached its last stage and final consummation in the events of the last six years.

England has an "Establishment," and does not see her way to getting rid of it. She proposes, therefore, to make a "Broad Church" of it instead of a branch of the Church Catholic—but then it is to be a Broad Church with all that is definitely Catholic eliminated.

To Robert Phillimore, Esq., D.C.L.

EAST BRENT, 17th July 1857.

I am glad that Pusey's book ¹ is out. It is certainly one remarkable issue of this controversy and prosecution, and, as it appears to me, a very satisfactory issue, that both Pusey and Keble, who began by withholding their assent

¹ The "Doctrine of the Real Presence," by Rev. E. B. Pusey.

from the doctrine maintained in my sermons in respect of the "reception by the wicked," should have ended in declaring their judgment to have been changed in this particular, and in assenting to what I have maintained.

Keble did this in a letter to Grueber last year. Pusey does it in his book. Neither of them would, as I did, insist upon it as necessary to be believed, inasmuch as it has not been so ruled by the Church in any express terms.

It is to be remembered, on the other hand, that in so insisting upon it I had the express sanction, in its fullest extent, of my Bishop—being his deputy and mouthpiece, as his Examining Chaplain—and that the same day that I found that he had changed his mind I resigned my office.

I am therefore, as I have abundant cause to be, very thankful for the position in which I find myself.

To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.

EAST BRENT, 16th October 1857.

I admit the weight of the ground you state for holding our hand, if I could regard this matter as one in which it is any longer possible for those who hold as I do to be influenced by considerations of what may or may not come of our move.

But for this the time appears to us to be gone by. Parliament, assisted therein mainly by the past and present conduct of the Bishops and Clergy, has now dealt a blow which is fatal to the legal position of the Church of England.

We can look upon the coming into operation of this Bill¹ in no other light.

If it stand in its present shape, then in all attempts to resist alteration of the Prayer Book (which would involve directly a general break-up), it would at once mean that there remained no longer any statutable basis upon which to ground such resistance.

But even if no such attempt ensue, the fatal mischief remains. Again—to use your own language—the Bill

¹ "In 1857, came the indelible stain of the Divorce Act—a just judgment for the sin of many years in passing through Parliament, by Authorities Ecclesiastical and Civil, private Divorce Bills for the wealthy and great people of the land. I did, as many others did, what little I could to stay the plague"—("Notes of my Life," p. 273).

involves the complete and sole mastery of a Parliamentary majority over the Church and our spiritual concerns.

I am obliged therefore to say that we must go on. I am receiving daily the names of those who are ready to join in the issue.

To Lord Redesdale

EAST BRENT, 16th October 1857.

I must thank you again—as I do from my heart—for your long and kind letter.

Let me say only a few words in reply.

1. I regard the fact of the Church having, at the several revisions of the Prayer Book, uniformly adhered to the language of the Marriage Service, as of infinitely greater weight than any amount of private judgment of our Reformers and Divines.

2. I unreservedly admit that of the blame which attaches to what I can call by no other name than a national sin—I mean the passing of this Bill—by far the greater part attaches to the Bishops and the Clergy of this and of former generations.

3. With regard to the Declaration, I must abide by my opinion of its character and of its consequences.

4. It seems to me that there is no room to petition or address the Crown upon grounds which have been already discussed and over-ruled in Parliament. What recommends the ground taken in the Petition is the fact that we are entitled to assume that the contradiction which has been created by this Bill¹ between two Statutes—one of them being the Act of Uniformity—has escaped notice.

To a Friend

EAST BRENT, 18th November 1857.

It seems to me that there are very considerable difficulties in the way of an educational franchise, and that these become further complicated by the facts belonging to the position of a Clergyman of the Church of England.

I should not be prepared to ask for a constituency to

¹ The Divorce Bill.

be composed exclusively of Clergy of Church of England, because this would be, as it seems to me, to supply a very strong argument against any revival of the consultative functions of the Spirituality of the Church as now existing by the Constitution.

On the other hand, I should not be prepared to ask for a constituency which puts the Clergy of Church of England on the same footing with the Dissenting teachers, as one of a constituency constructed on the principle of sending men to the Legislature competent to advise touching the true interests of the country. I would rather myself see household suffrage, and all classes and interests making the best of their position. If the country is not going down, the right men will find their way up. If it be, as I fear it is, an educational franchise will not save it.

To Lord Auckland, Bishop of Bath and Wells

EAST BRENT, 7th January 1858.

It seems to me that the answer to the enquiry suggested by the Diocesan Board is supplied, in great measure, by their own statistics.

Sunday schools are, in my judgment, speaking generally, an evil *per se*, and are only to be justified as supplementing the want of weekly schools, out of which want they sprung. That this is the way in which they are to be regarded appears to be evidenced by the fact that as weekly schools and their scholars multiply, the attendance at Sunday schools diminishes, though not as might be expected in the same proportion.

But besides this—which I call the natural and legitimate cause of the deficiency adverted to—there appears to me to be abundant other cause in the increase of late years in the demand for the labour of children. In a dairy country, the difference between Sunday and week-day labour is less than in any other country.

There is yet another cause of a different kind, and, I believe, the principal cause. Some years ago, the voluntary Teachers in Sunday schools occupied a different relative position to the week-day Instructors of the children, and to the children themselves from that which they occupy now. The week-day Instructors are now more

capable, the children are more instructed—I do not say better educated. The voluntary Teachers have not advanced in any like proportion. The children, and, in many cases, the parents of the children, can hardly fail to draw a comparison between the week and the Sunday school, unfavourable to attendance at the latter.

To the Rev. J. H. Newman

EAST BRENT, 6th November 1858.

The sight of your handwriting, after so many years, has moved me much.

It seems to me that if the Roman Catholic citizens of England ask for a charter,¹ there is nothing in the social policy of England as respects forms of Faith to warrant a refusal, but everything not only to warrant, but to induce, the grant of it.

But as I am persuaded that that policy—not as regards yourselves only, but as regards all—is wholly wrong, and that England's boast, the unfettered exercise of the right of private judgment in matters of Faith (for that right of private judgment, however you may, as I do, denounce and condemn it, would be her warrant for granting what you ask) is her dishonour and her sin, I could be no party, directly or indirectly, to the obtaining of such a Charter.² Will you let me add that I do not think you would advance your cause in the quarter you name, by any private or personal advocacy.

To the Rev. J. H. Newman

EAST BRENT, 10th November 1858.

I will not thank you for your letter.

"Thanks" is a very poor word in answer to it.

I bless God that there is between us this bond of charity when others have been severed.

¹ For the University of Dublin.

² In reply, the Rev. J. H. Newman said: "I would rather have your first sentence, in which you express pleasure at seeing my handwriting, than all the warmest sympathy and co-operation which you say you cannot give me in the request I made you."

To what you say so kindly towards the end of your letter, let me reply that I believe the true account of the matter to be that, in the times you speak of, you were "sober-minded" and I was not.

*To the Bishop of Oxford*¹

EAST BRENT, 3rd November 1859.

Our little talk at Wells about Church Rate puts me upon asking you to read the enclosed paper, which is the draft of the Archdeacon's petition as I proposed it at the meeting,² and as I would have carried it if I could. . . .

As I drew the draft, I excluded compromise, and I said nothing about equivalent. The reasons for the first I state in the draft. I said nothing about the second, because I have never been able to arrive at what men mean by the word in the case of the Church Rate. It seems to me, indeed, that no equivalent exists, or can exist, and that anything so called will not be an equivalent but compromise.

I have ventured to trouble you with this explanation, because I am very desirous that my position in this matter should be quite plain to you, and having said to you at Wells—what I have no wish to retract—that if clergy and people do not now speak out, they will have no right to quarrel with the Legislature for making some arrangement, I am anxious not to be understood as implying that any arrangement will content me.

I care for nothing but the keeping of the Law as it is, with these alterations of detail. I would rather, indeed, see the whole Church Rate swept away, "*reclamante Ecclesia*," than retained in part by means of concessions, "*concurrente Ecclesia*."

*To the Archdeacon of London*³

EAST BRENT, 11th November 1859.

Is it not of much importance that we should be ready, in our several Archdeaconries, with a great mass of Petitions when Parliament meets?

The question put in your letter of yesterday is so full

¹ Right Rev. S. Wilberforce. ² Of Diocesan Board of Education.

³ Archdeacon Hale.

of great issues that I do not feel competent to give an answer to it, except after much consideration, and with the assistance I should derive from hearing it discussed in all its bearings, ecclesiastical and civil. But I will say so much as this generally, and looking at it in its Parliamentary aspect.

The first object which is before the Parliamentary mind in this matter is, I conceive, the getting rid of the agitation.

For while I do not doubt—notwithstanding the vote of House of Commons for Abolition of Church Rate—that there is a large majority in both Houses who would gladly preserve the Church Rate (if they could see their way to this, consistently with getting rid of the agitation), I believe, on the other hand, that rather than not get rid of the agitation, the same majorities in both Houses, will in the end, sacrifice the Church Rate.

Assuming this point then, the question that arises upon any proposal for legislation appears to be this—

What effect would such legislation have upon the agitation?

Now can it be supposed that the transference from ecclesiastical to civil administration—especially when coupled with a distinct Legislative recognition and sanction of the custom of Church Rate which is part of the proposal—would have any effect in getting rid of agitation? Would it not rather invite and encourage agitation? because—the objection to Church Rate being in its essence not at all an objection to the manner of levying or administering, but an objection to the existence of the Established Church as involved in the existence of the Church Rate—you would be offering to the objector not any manner of release from his present legal obligation, but a reforger of his chain, and this by the hands of an authority which all acknowledge to be paramount—the authority of the Legislature; and further still, by the very act of doing this you would in effect be saying to the agitator:—"Only go on making noise enough, and you will get the law altered again, and in the end have the whole matter your own way." Except, therefore, in the view of staying the evil for a time, having meantime done that which weakens the defence—a view which we should all of us exclaim against—I cannot see the advantage of such legislation.

We must, I think, be very careful to distinguish between "compromise and equivalent." The first may not,

in my judgment, be legitimately entertained ; the second may—but then, when people try to realise and grasp it, it turns out to be a shadow.

I cannot think that it is our business or our duty to be making suggestions for a great change in constitutional law, which change is not of our seeking, and which we would much rather not have.

If Parliament think that the Church Rate can be preserved by altering the administration of it, and can be preserved in no other way, it is their affair, not mine. I do not think so. Let Parliament be responsible for the alteration ; but do not let us be deserting our high and true ground, and be catching at this straw and that, as any one tosses them up. It is to show a weakness and vacillation which will do us no good, and which ought not to do us any good.



VICARAGE, EAST BRENT.

1860-1869

THE decade from 1860 to 1870, although one of the busiest of Archdeacon Denison's life, and full of matters of interest relating to the Church, has nevertheless contributed comparatively few letters to this volume.

The burning questions of the time for Church people comprised the Abolition of Church Rates, the development of Ritual, the Disestablishment of the Irish Church, and those questions of Elementary Education which culminated in the passing of Mr Forster's Education Act in 1870. But as only a small number of Archdeacon Denison's letters relating to this period have been preserved, this chapter contains only a scanty reference to these great questions. The bill for the Abolition of Church Rates was brought before Parliament by Sir John Trelawney, and in 1861, on the division on the third reading, the numbers on each side being equal, the Speaker had to give the casting vote. He gave it

against the Bill, in order that the House might have an opportunity of reconsidering the question, with the result that Church Rates were not finally abolished until 1868.

In 1860, a volume of Essays by various writers, all clergy of the Church of England, was published under the title of "Essays and Reviews." In the preface it was announced that "the authors are responsible for their respective essays only; they have written in entire independence of one another, and without concert or comparison." Some of the Essays were considered to contain statements irreconcilable with the doctrine of the Church, and, chiefly by the exertions of Bishop Wilberforce in the Upper, and of Archdeacon Denison in the Lower, House of Convocation, the book was, in 1864, condemned.

Another book published about this time, which obtained great popularity, was "Ecce Homo." About this work, and about various doctrinal questions, the Archdeacon, from 1866 to 1868, corresponded with his nephew, Edward Denison (son of the Bishop of Salisbury), who was at that time living among the poor in East London, studying the working of the Poor Law, and other kindred subjects.

In 1866, the Lower House of Convocation was occupied with considering the whole subject of the Ritual allowed by the Prayer Book, and in drawing up an elaborate Report, which was presented to the Upper House.

The excitement about Ritual in the public mind at this time was intense, and the clamour for legislation on the subject very great, so much so, that, in 1867, a Royal Commission was appointed to consider the Rubrics.

Archdeacon Denison, as will be seen in many of his letters, was vehemently opposed to any alteration being made in the Book of Common Prayer.

In 1868, he wrote to Lord Carnarvon about his speech on the Irish Church Suspensory Bill, introduced into the House of Lords in June. He was much occupied with

debates in Convocation over the Irish Church, and at the English Church Union in arranging for a great Meeting which was held after the decision of the Privy Council in the case of *Martin v. Mackonochie*, a decision which was adverse to Mr Mackonochie on all the points raised.

Letters about the Leeds Church Congress, in 1869, close the subjects contained in this chapter.

To a Friend

22 GREAT GEORGE STREET,
WESTMINSTER, 1st March 1860.

Your letter makes me anxious.¹ It describes a state of mind very common amongst us now, and which we owe in great measure to the rushing in of the "*Septem contra Christum*" into places where Angels fear to tread. The Angels, says the Apostle, "desire to look into"—he does not say "look into."

You say, "The faith of the educated, if it has any real existence, must be of a wholly different character from the faith of the poor—the uneducated." I beg leave to deny this position altogether. "Faith is the substance of things hoped for, the evidence of things not seen." The most highly educated man, the man of the greatest natural and improved intelligence, cannot have a higher hope than the most uneducated man, nor can he see into the "secret things" of God one point further than the other.

The use and application of intellect, and the culture of it in those and by those to whom it has been given, and who will have to account for the gift and for the use of it, is simply that of confirming themselves and others in the implicit acceptance of what has been revealed. In each and every case—when the issue is not this, but doubt and confusion of mind—it is at once absolutely certain that the use and application is wrong, viz., that the man applying it has fallen beneath the power of man's chief temptation—the pride of reason. This is often done unconsciously. Satan is full of wiles. It has always been so from the first, when he deceived our first parents with a lie, appealing to their pride of reason—not to "the lust of the flesh," or to "lust of the eye," but to "pride of life."

¹ This letter refers to "Essays and Reviews," published in 1860,

It is one remarkable example of this unconsciousness that Temple—whose essay stands first in the unhappy book which is closed by Jowett—does not appear to have any idea that the pride of reason is man's chief temptation—he speaks of sensuality being this—he does not know, that is, *what* that temptation is under which he has come, and by which he has fallen.

Do you ask, How I am to know what has been revealed? My answer is, You must, no less than the poorest and most uneducated, take the Bible implicitly as containing it. This is belief in its "inspiration." Do you ask again, How am I to know what that is which the Bible contains? The answer is again, You must receive implicitly in like manner what the Church delivers—the universal, the Catholic Church. The Church has delivered the Creeds, the Sacraments, the Apostolic Order—nay the very Canon of Scripture itself—and she has given us the expression of her belief thus delivered in the Liturgies.

Does the pride of reason rebel against this implicit acceptance? I know it does. Intellect and the power of using and applying it are great and precious gifts, but they have, as all gifts have, their special trial; they bring it with them as by a law of God's Providence. It must be met and overcome, under grace, like all other trials. The fall of our first parents under it is a type of man's *worst* fall ever since. I say his "worst," because though sensuality and covetousness do indeed destroy the soul, if not repented of and forsaken, they do not so directly destroy the very principle of faith and trust in the soul as the pride of reason does, where it is allowed to range at large amongst God's hidden things.

I say, then, whensoever the exercise of intellectual power is making a man doubt, he is near to falling—he is using his power not as God wills, and for the ends which God has given it for. You speak of its being a hard, if not an impossible, thing to injure or unsettle "real faith." I do not think that this is so; all experience shews the contrary. Directly that freedom of enquiry, as it is called, has succeeded in planting the germ of doubt in the soul, the *real faith* of the soul has disappeared.

"Real faith" enables a man to take up the Bible, not as these men would have you do, as you would take up any other book, but as a book wholly different from any other book, and to say: "Here is my *law*." Real faith, again, enables a man to look to the Church and say: "Here

is my *interpreter*." Where there is doubt either as to the law or as to the interpretation of it, there is no real faith.

Wherefore my counsel is—have nothing to do with a teacher or teachers whose own faith is so unsettled a thing that they can write one year sentences about the Atonement which in the next edition they expunge. Let this be sufficient, as it ought to be, to make you wholly distrust any such teachers. "If the blind lead the blind, shall they not both fall into the ditch?" Alas! how many are, they say, "seeking truth" who never find it, because they seek after it not in the way and within the limits which God has marked out. All this, you see, comes from a mind which looks at the whole case from a point far removed from that point from which you appear to look at it. I cannot conceal my anxiety—it would be little like my love for you if I did, upon reading your letter.

The mercy of God does not call men to this state of doubt and hesitance—to what is dignified by a name which does not properly belong to it—a "search after truth," from the morning until the evening of life. God calls men to "peace": peace of mind and doubt as to the foundations of that peace cannot co-exist. To be assured of this is a legitimate exercise of our much-abused reason; for reason should teach us to confine ourselves within the limits which it is compelled to recognise as marked out for it.

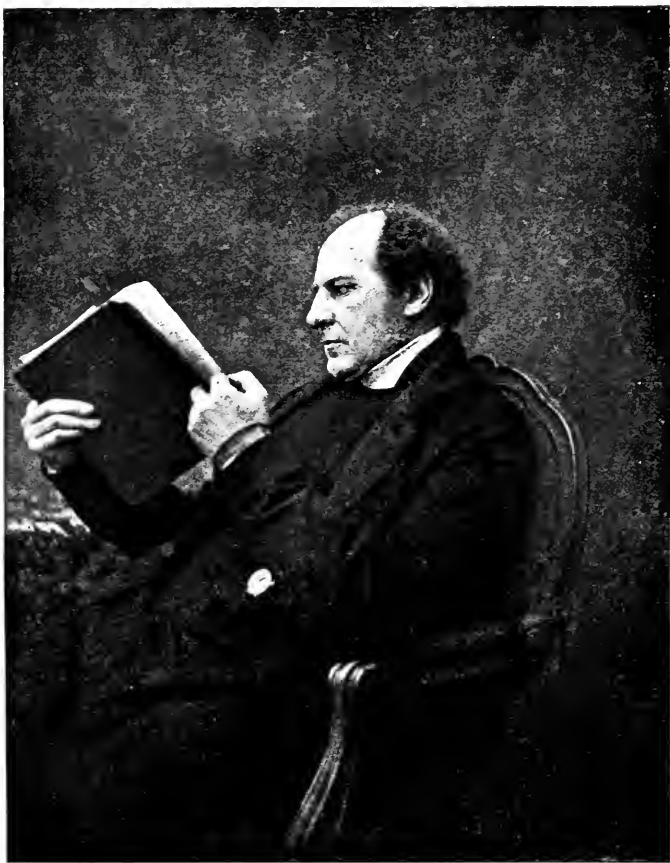
I send you some extracts from late proceedings in Convocation. We have condemned the book, and the clergy by thousands, high and low, are, I thank God, condemning it also.

Let me say that men whose gift it is to have time and inclination to study theology would do well to study it in the books of greater men than our modern sciolists, who are merely reproducing, after a poor fashion, what has many times been produced before, and which, having been so produced, has been tried in the balances and found wanting as wholly incapable of giving peace to the soul.

To Robert Phillimore, Esq., D.C.L.

EAST BRENT, 23rd November 1860.

Yesterday my Church Rate Resolutions were, every one of them, carried unanimously at a large public meeting open to all comers.



GEORGE ANTHONY DENISON.

[To face page 82.]

I believe this has been the first instance of an open public meeting in the matter of Church Rate.¹

Many of my friends were alarmed at the experiment, but I was satisfied that I knew my men.

As I believe that you are acquainted with the Arch-deacon of Taunton, who was in the Chair, it may please you to know that he was received with a perfect storm of applause.

To a Friend

EAST BRENT, 16th November 1861.

It has been my opinion from the first, that if the law of Church Rate is to be touched at all—for which I see no necessity, none at least which can balance the evil of dealing in Parliament with such a thing as Church Rate—it should be touched by no hands but those of Government.

My own judgment upon the present state of the question I have put out in a little supplement to my Church Rate book.

“What ought Parliament to do?” My answer is, “Nothing.”

It is a strong indication of the danger of attempting to legislate for Church Rate, that I have had to point out to Mr Hubbard, the Duke of Marlborough, and Mr Estcourt, for Mr Cross, that the wording of their Bill has been so large and loose as to sweep away the whole Visitatorial jurisdiction of the ordinaries of the Church in respect of Churches and Church-yards. The fact has been admitted in each case, and promised to be cared for. The Bills are as bad as they well could be still, but it is the little knowledge of the subject that it serves principally to show.

I am very thankful to see what you say about “Essays and Reviews,” and about union among Churchmen.

¹ Rates for the reparations of the Church were to be made by the Churchwardens, together with the Parishioners, duly assembled, after due notice, in the vestry or the church. . . .

The Rate was a personal, not a real charge, laid upon persons in respect of their lands.

In the year 1868, the 31 & 32 Vict. c. 109, was passed, which rendered a compulsory Church Rate illegal, but provided in rather an obscure manner for a voluntary Church Rate, clothed with some of the characteristics of the old law.—Phillimore’s “Eccles. Law,” vol. ii., p. 1445.

This last may not perhaps be in respect of certain points of doctrine, but it may very well be in respect of action upon the Catholic and Missionary position of the Church of England.

At this moment I am making an attempt—I hope with good prospect of success—to draw together all sections of us in the establishment of a middle School for this Diocese.

To Sir Robert Phillimore

22nd January 1866.

Among many anxieties, it is not the least what course the Bishops will take *in re* Ritual. I assume that they will not be so ill-advised as to think of going to Parliament at all. The only thing that appears to remain is a Pastoral Letter of advice.

Now if such a letter advise the Clergy against a return to high ceremonial, and to be content with surplice, but does not advise the use of surplice in preference to gown, it will be one-sided, and do more mischief than can be told, increasing the evil it proposes to cure. And yet, it is not within things probable that the Bishops will concur in anything else.

So that I say, as I have said all along, leave things alone. It is the Congregations rather than the Clergy who are moving.

I have bought “*Ecce Homo*.” The wonderful power of the book, though it is very unequal, combined with its many and mighty errors, makes me tremble as I read. The writer appears to me to have no belief in the Incarnation, the Personality of the Holy Spirit, the Grace of the Sacraments, nor indeed any grace. It is all, from first to last, human, subjective, and progressive towards a new Revelation. This indeed, he says, is come in the shape of science; but I suppose he is expecting more of it.

22nd March 1866.

I am proceeding with my analysis of the book. It is deadly, and full of the worst disbelief and the worst delusions, because very attractively put, as well as for other reasons.

There is no real ground for waiting. The writer has disposed of all Theology, though he says he does not touch it in this volume.

*To Edward Denison, Esq.*¹

EAST BRENT, 4th April 1866.

It is just the fascination of the book² which makes it so necessary to speak so uncompromisingly of it.

Here is a man who, with great power and pathos, lays the foundation of "another gospel."

Now, "Other foundation can no man lay than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ."

Therefore, in reply to your one reservation, let me say that no man may proceed with the human character of Christ apart from His Divine character, not even, if it be his purpose, which I do not in any way believe, to ascend up to the Divine from the human. Our Lord's own words, "I receive not testimony from man," appear to declare this truth.

I allow him fully deep power of human love for his kind. I see no trace of the love of the Gospel, because this hangs upon Christ as the God-Man, and he does not recognise Him as such.

"The Law of Forgiveness" is, of itself, enough to stamp the book with its true character. I quite agree with what you say about his exception of the Jews. In fact, the writer's hatred, not only of formalism in all shapes, but of all forms, has drawn him into a difficulty from which he could not escape but by *limiting Infinite* Forgiveness. It is curious that a man assuming to be so logical does not see that his whole book is an absolute contradiction to one of his leading propositions: that he discusses in it "no theological question whatsoever."

We want a book in answer at once, upon our Lord's own words—"Ye say that I am" (St Luke xxii. 70)—to the book upon Pilate's words "Ecce Homo."

To Edward Denison, Esq.

10th April 1866.

What I mean by citing the text from St John is that we may not argue up to the Divinity from the Manhood; what we have to do is to accept the Divinity as the primary fact, revealed to us, and not to go about to prove it from

¹ Only son of the Bishop of Salisbury.

² "Ecce Homo."

the perfection of the Manhood. Therefore it appears to me that even upon the supposition, which I daresay many make, that the writer of "Ecce Homo" is going in Vol. II. to argue up to the Divinity, he has entered upon a course of reasoning which is not permissible, and which, as such, cannot conduct to a true faith.

Then for the distinction which is so often made between Faith and Reason, as if they were two different faculties of the same being. This is surely unsound. Faith is an intellectual process, just as Reason is; the difference is, not in the process, but in the subject matter to which the processes are respectively applied. Reason is applicable to matters within the grasp of man's understanding—*e.g.* to the excellence and the power of a Christian example. Faith is applied to matters beyond that grasp—*e.g.* the Being of God, with all the truths which have been revealed in connection with it. Reason touches faith, when it apprehends that all such things are not matter of inquiry but of acceptance; it then exercises, I think, its highest function.

Our Lord, who refused the testimony of St John Baptist, says just above verse 31: "If I bear witness of myself, my witness is not true. There is another," etc. He appeals to the Revelation declaring Him to be God manifest in the flesh; and He does not even exclude his own testimony to himself, considered as only a man, from fallibility. Taking, then, the argument of "Ecce Homo" upon the best supposition which is made for it, I say that such argument is not permissible. It is not God's way of arriving at the truth of Christ's nature. The Divinity must be assumed as the foundation, not argued up to, as if it was a thing which depends upon argument, because it is one of those things beyond the grasp of man's understanding. But as I said before, I have no belief that the writer is going to argue up to the Divinity.

To Mrs G. Denison

JERUSALEM CHAMBER, 26th June 1866.

I was quite prepared for the impatience of the House to get at Ritual not allowing my Church Rate Gravamen to be discussed with a view to making it "*Articulus Cleri*," so I carried it about the House, and have got forty-six to

sign it, which, considering there are thirteen reasons in it, is a great many.

Last evening I had a talk with your dear father about new Government¹—he had not long come back from Lord Derby's. He seemed to think that the likeliest, as the best, issue would be the formation of a purely Conservative Government. Of course I asked him nothing, leaving him to tell me what he likes as he likes.

To Mrs G. Denison.

JERUSALEM CHAMBER, 28th June 1866.

Carried Ritual Report yesterday, after three days' debate, and two close divisions 30 to 23—24 to 29; also the Riders, with no division. The Riders were in my hands, and are, in my judgment, the most important things of those passed in this matter.

What you will say I hardly know, but the Rider at least expresses my own judgment as declared from the first in my own Draft, so far as principle is concerned.

Rider to the Report, to be proposed by the Ven. Archdeacon Denison.

That with regard to the six points of Ritual which have been specially discussed in the Report, the judgment of this House is as follows:—

1. That the use in Parish Churches of the surplice is a sufficient compliance with the directions of the Church.

2. That, without pronouncing on the legality of the Vestments prescribed in the First Book of King Edward Sixth, or of altar lights, the House considers that they should not be introduced into any Parish Church without reference to the Bishop, and that a similar reference should be made with regard to the Introduction of Incense in the simpler manner described in the Report.

3. That the House expresses its entire disapproval of the practice of Censing persons and things, and of all Elevation of the Elements after Consecration, and consider that the attendance of Non-communicants during the Celebration of the Holy Communion, and the use of Wafer Bread are to be discouraged except in special cases.

¹ Government formed by Lord Derby, June, 1866.

To Sir Robert Phillimore

7th November 1866.

I suppose by "Charge" of Gloucester¹ and Bristol, you mean sermon as reported in yesterday's *Times*.

What you said of it made me read it—a thing I rarely do. I confess I am amazed. Here is a Bishop coming forward with much pomp and parade of his office, to admonish and advise his Clergy and People in a great crisis of the Church.

There is a great deal of fine language and much that is good; but what is the substance of a column and three-quarters in *Times*?

1. The Ritualists are most excellent and self-denying men.

2. Their love of a high ceremonial is only their way of showing their deep attachment to the Doctrine of the Real Objective Presence.

3. How is peace to be made, if made at all? By remonstrating with them upon their unfaithfulness to the Church of England.

Was ever anything more lame and impotent? Why, the very central point of the Ritualist's position, that in retaining which he most manifests his faithfulness to the Church of England, is what you ask him to abandon in giving up his ceremonial.

I have written to the Bishop, and told him that, after reading the report of his sermon, I am more than ever satisfied that a great dividing strife is at hand.

I do not agree with the Ritualist in his way of maintaining the Real Presence—I am heart and soul with him, as you know, in the thing.

14th November 1866.

My two-fold position in respect of the Doctrine, and in respect of Ritualism, makes it impossible for me to keep silence at this juncture.

You know me too well to think that it is from any spirit of bravado, or needless challenging of risk, that I say that I have no fear of any proceedings, and that, if I had, it would make no difference.

¹ Right Rev. C. J. Ellicott.

When I got back last night, I found a letter from the Bishop in answer to mine to him of last week after reading Report of sermon in the *Times*.

To Sir Robert Phillimore

16th November 1866.

Many thanks for the "Comments."

1. "Ritualism," with its inverted commas, shows, I think, plainly what is meant. When I say that I use surplice and stole, I cannot be supposed to be contending against Ritualism *per se*.

2. It may be much better to leave out "Objective" in the definition. But the whole gist of the matter as between the Bishop and myself is in its use in the argument.

It is just because in the sermon, as reported in *Times*, he insists specially and principally against the Objective Presence, while affirming the Real Presence, that I am compelled to speak. For it is this that I have all along contended for, as ascertaining and fixing what is meant by the "Real Presence."

I have a letter from the Bishop this morning, which shews me that he is much overset. I suspect that he is receiving reclamations on all hands. I wait now for the authentic sermon.

20th November 1866.

The Bishop's sermon, as published by himself, makes the matter worse than it was. He has, as I see from his letters, been greatly and largely remonstrated with, and the effect has been an attempt to get out of the part most objected to by alteration; but it is wholly a failure and something more.

All the same, our relations of friendship and cordial kindness remain untouched. I have always found him one of the easiest men to deal with, from his kindliness and frankness and absence of bumptiousness.

My letter¹ to him will be published this week. I have accepted, with entire concurrence, all your amendments, save one, which is unimportant, and I hope have greatly improved the letter in many ways. I believe that it would

¹ "'Ritualism' and the Real Presence": A letter to the Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol.

have been a fatal mistake to let the Bishop—who has by circumstances come to be taken as an exponent of sound English Churchmanship—pass without clear and distinct protest and remonstrance on this occasion. I cannot help fearing greatly that his Sermon will drive many over the border, as it is. I have no belief that it will do what it was intended to do, stay “Ritualism.”

To Edward Denison, Esq.

13th December 1866.

The world is gone Memorial mad, and the whole thing is becoming ludicrous.

I felt from the first, when they asked me to join in starting the Keble¹ memorial, that it was a mistake. When memorials are such common things, they had much better have left him alone with his great name. You remember the epitaph to a very different man at Florence²—

“Tanto nomini nullum par elogium—
Nicolaus Machiavelli.”

But further, I have objected from the outset to the “College.” I don’t like a poor College distinctively. I don’t like a College mainly for one course of instruction. I think both things are contrary to the true idea of a University, and to the true idea of Education. In our days there is always an attempt to combine the “useful” with the “honorary” in these things. I incline to think that it is a mistake, and that it is a doubtful question whether, after all, the combination includes the “useful.”

Possibly the old and almost exploded way of a statue was the wisest. It would have saved a good deal of disappointment and heartburning in this case. A statue in Oxford! Oh, how heathen! many cry. Maybe it is, in one sense; but there is no reason why Christian people should not adopt and make their own a heathen practice, not, in itself, any more opposed to Christianity than a monument is.

I don’t agree with you about Anglo-Catholics. If it is not the true Religion, it would be hard to say what is. I believe that in the end it will leaven the world. But I

¹ The Rev. John Keble died 29th March 1866.

² On his tomb in Santa Croce.

am not contending for its extravagancies or aberrations—only for the genuine article.

It is a pity the "Reformation" was not called the "Restoration." It would have been a truer account of the fact.

To Edward Denison, Esq.

22nd December 1866.

I do not think there has been any attempt to mislead, but a Keble College would, almost of necessity, take a more exclusive shape in respect of things taught—or, rather, I should have said, would look to a greater amount of time and care being given to one particular branch of teaching.

I disliked more the "poor College," which it would necessarily become. I had much rather have seen Exhibitions for poor Keble scholars presented in various Colleges, to make up, in some measure, for the atrocious wrong that was done when Oxford was "Reformed" a few years since, and the poor were robbed.

I call you and myself "genuine Anglo-Catholics." I add Liddon: I could add a vast many more.

Never mind all the stir. It could not have been otherwise as seems to me. I am not afraid of it a bit.

Ritualistic excesses are bad things no doubt; but indifference to heresy is a worse thing. Now here is all the world astir about "Ritualism." How many of the same people trouble themselves about Colenso? Now, this is partly, and perhaps principally, because the first is in the direction of maintaining dogma, and the second in the direction of "freedom of thought"—and the world wags, as it did in Adam's and Eve's days, in the last direction much more than in the first.

To Mrs G. Denison

JERUSALEM CHAMBER,
14th February 1867.

Blakesley's¹ Amendment was rejected last night without a division. There are now two Amendments before the House—one of Joyce's and the other of Archdeacon of Westminster.

The latter I have accepted freely. It gives all the

¹ Dean of Lincoln.

substance of my Resolution, and adds a good deal which at the time I gave notice of the Resolution I was in no position to add. I therefore accept it thankfully as giving me all I ask, and adding what I could not ask; for the Bishops have already considered the matter, and it is pretty well settled to assemble all Anglican Bishops in England this year.

I never anticipated so speedy an issue of the move. Of course, if our House had adopted Blakesley's Amendment, it would have thrown a very serious impediment in the way of the Bishops; and if one House had presented any considerable minority, it would have caused considerable difficulty.

As it stands, I anticipate that the whole substance of my move will be gained. It could not be expected that the House would adopt the Report which includes necessarily many details upon which there is a wide divergence of opinion.

So I have said at once that I do not care anything for the Report; my business is to get the thing done, and I thank God that, so far as I can see at this stage of the debate, the thing is safe.

Stanley¹ yesterday got so angry with me that he began his speech by saying that in Rome a certain most eminent person was said to have two sides to his face—one the benevolent, the other the malevolent. Canon Hawkins he likened to the first, me to the second. The hardest thing I had said of him and his friends was—in reference to the worldly wisdom of the Rationalists—

“Fools rush in where angels fear to tread.”

And so in return he called me a devil.

To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 15th March 1867.

No doubt Clergy have irritated Bishops, but it has not been without a long course of irritation of Clergy by Bishops. Bishops have wound it up by this miserable Resolution of Upper House of Canterbury.

I cannot wonder at Pusey feeling under a necessity of vindicating the “Real Presence” as the Truth of Church of

¹ Very Rev. A. P. Stanley, Dean of Westminster.

England Doctrine, when a Resolution, moved by Bishop of Oxford, leaves it to be understood that "Real Presence" and "Corporal Presence" are one and the same thing.

I cannot say, for one, that I am encouraged by the experience of the concurrent action (if it may so be called, even by courtesy) of the Royal Commission on Subscription and of Convocation. I am glad that I shall not live to see the end of all these things in Church and State.

26th April 1867.

We had a five hours' sitting over our paper on Holy Eucharist, ten of us, and have, I hope, got it into good shape. It now contains a rejection of Transubstantiation in terms.

To the Right Hon. B. Disraeli, M.P.¹

EAST BRENT, *5th April 1867.*

I am loth to trouble you with any words of mine at this time, and they shall be very few.

Judging by the report¹ of Lord Robert Montagu's speech at his late election—the accuracy of which report has not been denied—his appointment appears to me, as to very many of us, about as unhappy an appointment as could have been made.

I am well aware that the responsibility is not yours; but old kindnesses make me write freely to you what I am sure you will receive and consider, in the hope that the active mischief may at least go no further.

If in the present temper of House of Commons we might not look to be relieved from the grievance of Conscience inflicted by the "Conscience Clause," and from other "Educational" abominations, Academical and Scholastical; we had, at least, a right to expect that these grievances should not be aggravated by a Conservative Government. But the "improving Conservative" who has been appointed to the post of V.P. of Committee of

¹ Mr Disraeli said in reply :—"I am in the midst of the battle of Armageddon, but I cannot allow any other hand to write to you but my own.

"In reply to the enquiry of the Government, Lord Robert Montagu announces that he did not make the speech attributed to him. We have requested that he will express in writing what he did say. You may rest assured that, so far as the Ministry is concerned, there will be no faltering on any of those points which have so long mutually interested us.

"This is a most hasty letter, but a sincere one."

Council on "Education," appears to be not simply prepared, but happy to surrender, one after the other, principles upon which alone it is possible to maintain the Union of Church and State ; and, for the sake of pleasing the political Nonconformist, to abandon the things especially committed to Churchmen to keep. It is not a little hard that those who have laboured to prevent "liberalism" from flooding the land, should in return have had an appointment like this flung in their face.

*To the Rev. H. P. Liddon*¹

EAST BRENT, 25th May 1867.

Carter tells me he comes home to-day, which I am glad to hear.

I have written to him explaining, as well as I can in a letter, all my difficulty, which is, I see, felt by many others of us as to "of any fresh Sacrifice distinct from."

And I have prayed him to see Pusey and yourself upon it, and to unfold all his meaning by word of mouth. The words "distinct from" express, I take it, an absolute difference and non-identity between the things to which they are applied. Now can it be said that any Sacrifice or any offering in the Holy Eucharist is "distinct from the one All-Sufficient Sacrifice and Oblation on the Cross?" I think not by any man. Some have supposed a repetition of that Sacrifice and a re-offering. But has any one ever supposed that the two things are "distinct from" each other? I think not. If so, what is the meaning of our repudiating it?

We all, I believe, feel that it would be a great misfortune that the Paper should fall through. If Carter will see Pusey and yourself, I think this will not happen.

To Edward Denison, Esq.

2nd March 1867.

J—— is a good man, and a well-read man in ecclesiastical history ; but I think with you, that he is very unwise, and helps to do much mischief. His mind is so fettered by ecclesiastical precedent that he can see no difference between the time of Constantine and Century Nineteen.

¹ Rev. H. P. Liddon, Student of Christ Church, appointed Canon of St Paul's, 1870. Died Sept. 1890.

At the same time it is, I think, hardly to be denied that the question of the interference of the laity with what is, or is not, the Doctrine of the Church is one of the greatest difficulty. *A priori*, not only precedent, but principle appears to be against it. *A posteriori*, the issue has not been such as to encourage the experiment. Just now the matter is sadly complicated in this country by decisions of the supreme lay tribunal, not indeed making any new article of Faith, but so interpreting the Articles of Faith as to amount in effect to making new articles. The complication has arisen in great measure out of the fact of the civil rights of an Incumbent, and there are other causes ; but, as matter of fact, it has arisen, and the Clergy have, therefore, some ground for looking anxiously and jealously at the introduction of laity into Synods.

For myself, feeling very deeply the injury that has been done by the supreme Court of Appeal, but not laying all the blame upon it, I do not share in the least in the apprehension that harm would come out of the presence of lay representatives in the Synods of our time with right to vote—the vote being taken by order, as in United States ; and it seems to me impossible to doubt that, if this Church were not established by Law, such a constitution of her Synods would necessarily ensue.

As it is, seeing that nothing can become the law of the Church without consent of Parliament, if the laity sat in the Synod, they would have two voices in the matter, and the Clergy one only ; for the presence of the Bishops in the House of Lords does not really affect the question.

I do not, however, see any ground to suppose that anything amounting to a new article of Faith is at all likely to be submitted to a council of Anglican Communion, and for all other questions I cannot understand why the equal right of the laity is not to be fully and freely recognised.

I believe that the real difficulty and danger of our time lies in the want of appreciation by the Bishops of the needs of the Church. This morning brings me a letter from a very eminent man, a clergyman having all men's respect. He says :

“We seem to be sitting with folded arms and smiling faces, like the people of Pompeii on the eve of the eruption which destroyed their city.”

What could tempt Disraeli to say of the Government

of this country, before 1832, that it had become that of a "heartless oligarchy?" Very unwise to say, if it were true; but it is not true.

To Edward Denison, Esq.

13th June 1867.

I have long felt that the position of members of Church of England who are simply desirous of knowing what is the Catholic Faith—*i.e.* the Faith of Church of England—is a very difficult position; and if I can be of any help to one who is so dear to me as yourself, I shall have great cause to bless God for it.

All excesses in Theology (I do not say extremes, for Truth *per se* is an extreme) appear to be the natural and, so to speak, inevitable reaction from a previous and opposite excess. We are now in one of these reactions, which is a reaction against what was itself a reaction from a previous excess.

At the Reformation it was found that certain great doctrines of the Faith were in excess—*e.g.* Confession—Absolution—the Holy Eucharist.

Upon this the reaction against Rome set in.

The issue has been that although the Liturgy and Articles of Church of England show no excess of reaction, but simply set out the Catholic position in respect of these doctrines, the English mind generally, encouraged by many circumstances, has not, in three centuries, recovered its equilibrium, and is still recalcitrating against much that is of the Catholic Faith, assuming it to be only Roman or Mediæval.

The reaction had gone so far, that not many years ago a counter reaction set in, which has itself gone into excess with some in respect of Confession and Absolution, but not, I think, in respect of the Holy Eucharist.

I do not find in my experience, which is now pretty wide, that the "highest" Churchmen hold anything about the Holy Eucharist which is only Roman or mediæval.

But I see that some of them do about Confession and Absolution; and I am quite of your mind that here they have exceeded the line of the Church of England and of the Church Catholic.

For the paper on the Holy Eucharist, and "Ritualism"

as connected with it, I think you overlook that it expressly disclaims all opinion or speculation as to "the manner." I had as much to do with the framing of it as any one; and in the course of thirteen years of public discussion, in Courts of Law and out of them, upon this great doctrine, I have uniformly repudiated all speculation or opinion as to "the manner."

You will remember, too, that the Paper is not only a "Ritualists'" Paper, in the popular sense of that much-abused word. It is true that many principal Ritualists have signed it. It was out of "Ritualism" that the necessity of it came; but Pusey, Richards, I, and others signing, are not "Ritualists."

I am not without hope that the Paper will be of service. It was judged best, at my suggestion, not to collect any signatures. The signatures are only of those who were consulted in the framing. It originated with Carter of Clewer, but fell ultimately into my hands as Chairman of the meeting at which the substance of it was settled.

Observe also, that the Paper founds itself upon "the mind of our Lord, as expressed in Holy Scripture," etc.

In what you have said about Confession and Absolution, I assume that you are speaking about private Confession and Absolution. There is the daily Confession and Absolution in the daily service. The service begins with Confession, and the Priest has "power and commandment" to pronounce Absolution to the penitent.

To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore

18th October 1867.

Meeting¹ would not go beyond as follows in Crucial Clause 4. "That, therefore, such revival should not be effected in any case without great care and caution, and due regard for the feelings of the Congregation and the

¹ These letters refer to preparations for a meeting which Archdeacon Denison mentions in "Notes of my Life" as follows:—

"23rd November 1867.

"I took part in bringing together a great meeting in St James' Hall, Lord Nelson in the Chair, to claim for Churchmen their lawful liberty, and to protest against any interference with the Book of Common Prayer."—(p. 352.)

legal right of the Ordinary." I hope it will do. There was, as Grueber tells me, a general drawing of breath in the room at "Concurrent goodwill." And it was urged that it seemed to suggest to the Commissioners some proposal for ascertaining formally the mind of the congregation. Beadon of Salton was strong upon this. The words as they stand were adopted on Carter's suggestion. I have written to Pusey, and have asked Carnarvon to take the chair.

23rd October 1867.

Carnarvon won't. Pusey is "not satisfied" with the wording of Clause 2. These are what the world calls discouragements: they seem to me natural incidents of a fight for the Truth. I am thankful that, helped by the kindness of Gladstone himself, I have always been able to maintain friendly personal relations with him through the medium of public questions having a common religious interest for both alike. I am not surprised to find you say that you do not expect him to say "yes"—neither do I; but the Committee wished him asked, and I, as I have told him, am glad to convey to him their wish and my own.

Nelson throws himself into Memorial quite heartily, and, considering that he had crochets of his own which have not found a place in it, it does him great credit. I think, if Gladstone says "no," we might do worse than to have Nelson. He is a very good man, and moderate, and all respect him. He says in his letter that he will "come and support me in any way that I like."

Hardy would not, I suppose, as Member of Government: Heathcote I doubt about. But I must have a good Layman somehow.

To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore

You do not say anything about Woodford's¹ first difficulty about Memorialising Commission. I cannot think there is much in it, nor in his argument that it would seem like asking Commission not to do what they are commissioned to do by Crown. They are commissioned to *inquire*, and we go to them with reasons why, after inquiry made, they should *not* proceed further.

¹ Rev. J. R. Woodford, afterwards Bishop of Ely.

WATERPERRY, OXFORD,
12th November 1867.

A few weak people, the *Guardian* among them, are stumbling at the words, "*ex post facto* legislation," in the Memorial, as applied to the threatened legislation upon Ritual.

I have told them that the words are there upon the highest legal authority, and have added that, according to my own lights, I cannot see the grounds of the difficulty.

Just tell me privately in few words what is the best way of knocking over these weak people. I have said a few words in *Guardian* this week, but they may not be enough.

To Edward Denison, Esq.

25th February 1868.

As I was coming down on Saturday last, an old friend of mine, one of our best men, told me that he had had some conversation with a cousin of his in the City, a chief member, I believe, of one of the great Companies, which made him think that there was a good opening for the establishment of a school, or schools, for "Religious Education" in the City.

I know this will interest you much. It seems that some of the great Companies consider themselves to have been taken in by Mr Rogers' scheme, not having, as they allege, been made to understand fully its wholly secular character.

When I come up for Convocation, I should much like to make you known to my friend. Possibly it is the germ of a great move. As things stand now, nothing can, I think, be more hopeless than the prospect.

Children must be taught—if with religion, well; if not, without it. It is *propter vitam vivendi perdere causas*—never was a clearer instance. And then many say, oh yes, Religion certainly, but no "sectarianism"—*i.e.* natural Religion, not Revealed—the Religion which includes the denial of the Divinity of Christ as of equal claim with the affirmation of it.

I have battled in this cause many years, and shall do so, God helping me, till I die. What is in store for England I do not like to think. Men are so loose and so swallowed up with the idea that "knowledge" is the first of all things—

and so indeed it is, in the Scriptural sense of it. In any other, it is the worst of all things.

I made acquaintance with Mr Green¹ at Dean of Westminster's last Thursday, and liked much what I saw of him.

God bless and prosper you.

*To the Archbishop of Canterbury*²

EAST BRENT, 27th March 1868.

I am very sorry to see the Government Education Bill, not only because of its recognition of a Conscience Clause—for this I had anticipated—a wrong sure to be inflicted, but because freedom has been given downwards by admitting schools purely secular to grants, without a corresponding freedom upwards on behalf of Church Schools.

I cannot therefore see how it is possible for the Church to accept the Bill as a just and safe settlement of the question. I was content, as are many others, Laity and Clergy, with whom I have been advised to accept a Bill including grant to secular schools—provided that Church Schools were left wholly free to do their own work in their own way. The Government Bill admits the Secular School, but maintains the injurious condition as against the Church School.

*The Rev. C. H. Fagan*³

EAST BRENT, 4th April 1868.

The difference between you and me I take to be this: You are prepared, if you cannot get rid of the Conscience Clause out of the Bill (which is hopeless), to make what you can of the Bill.

I am not. I can have nothing to do with any Bill containing a Conscience Clause, nor with any machinery which works such Bill directly or indirectly.

Surely the time is, at least now, come—I should say has come long ago—when men must make up their minds,

¹ J. R. Green, Author of "History of English People."

² The Most Rev. C. T. Longley.

³ Prebendary of Wells, Rector of Kingsweston, Somerset, and Secretary to several of the Somersetshire Church Societies.

at whatever cost, to take a distinct line in all matters of Religion.

Our present distractions and weakness come, I believe, mainly out of the futile attempt to combine in one course of action elements which cannot combine.

If the Church of England, as by Law Established, includes two opposite schools, as no doubt it does, that is, I apprehend, no reason why the Catholic school is to adopt, or, what is even worse, to act upon without adopting, the formula of the Protestant school. But this is exactly what it is proposed that the Catholic school shall do by accepting, under whatever modification or restriction, a Conscience Clause.

I see no possible safety for the Church in making any Concordat with the Civil Power which shall admit the latter into any manner of partnership with the Church in matters of Religion.

To the Earl of Carnarvon

EAST BRENT, 27th June 1868.

There are not many things in life more sad than difference in Religion and Religious things where both parties are alike in earnest.

I cannot hide from you—perhaps I ought not, having regard to many recollections—that your speech last night¹ has made me very unhappy.

I believe it to be impossible to separate Disestablishment from Disendowment. I believe that the second follows the first necessarily.

I believe both to be sins—Disestablishment, because it makes the State to be of no religion, in place of maintaining, among many forms of faith, The Primitive Catholic Faith as The Truth of God, thus handing over the people

¹ Irish Church Suspensory Bill, introduced in the House of Lords by Lord Clarendon, 18th June. On the second night of the debate the Earl of Carnarvon said that—"Bearing in mind the attitude of the Government towards the Clergy of the English Church in their Education Scheme, he regarded the policy of the Government with distrust and suspicion; their courting of the Roman Catholics with one hand, and the Orangemen with the other, could only result in discredit and failure. It would be safer for the Irish Church, whilst still unbroken by defeat, to come to terms with her declared opponents than to place trust in her professed friends."—"Annals of our Time.")

to all the license of private judgment in its wildest excess, and, in effect, handing them over either to Roman Catholicism or to Infidelity.

Disendowment, because as the only other Church cannot have the spoils, what remains is secularisation—*i.e.* Sacrilege.

You attempt to separate the two. I believe you to be under a delusion. You are against Disendowment—for Disestablishment; but it is the last which is the original sin.

To say that a branch of the Reformed Catholic Church shall cease to be the National Church where it is so now, because it is not the Church of the majority, is to separate Truth and Religion, and to put in its place man's disbelief or man's corruption as the rule of the National Life.

I am coming up on Monday to 14 New Street, Spring Gardens. It is with a heavy heart that I come.

To Mrs G. Denison

JERUSALEM CHAMBER, 21st July 1868.

Your precious words this morning brought pleasant tears into my eyes, and filled my heart with comfort at a most anxious moment.

Yesterday we carried the Spiritual validity of the deposition and excommunication of Bishop Colenso by 45 to 26. We had properly two or three more votes. It is a great issue, but I fear it will be very badly placed before the Upper House. Now we are going to the Ritual Resolutions, and it is not easy to say how anxious the time is. I was even less anxious yesterday, though the subject matter was a higher one in at least its outward aspect; because I never doubted that we should have a majority, though I hardly counted on so large a majority.

But though I hope we may carry the Amendment, I cannot but be very anxious, because so much depends on it.

Dean of Chichester¹ has just moved the adoption of Resolution of Upper House without a speech, saying that he should speak after, *i.e.* in reply. Mackenzie² is seconding.

¹ Very Rev. W. F. Hook.

² Some time Bishop Suffragan of Nottingham.

I have spoken about one and a half hours, I am told very well. Allen¹ is now seconding, having claimed to do it.

I shall get great support, but whether I can carry it I cannot say.

To Edward Denison, Esq.

EAST BRENT, 2nd August 1868.

Quod de "Whiggicis," idem de "Conservativis" et omnibus, ut aiunt, "Moderatis."

You may see this developed a little in my speech at Salisbury—which I send you in *John Bull* of last Saturday with this. It will be light reading for you on your way to Newark. I believe myself to see clearly the absolute extinction of all but Tories and Radicals. You will have to choose like all other men. "Moderation" about first principles is all tolerable enough, though never wise or sound, in ordinary times, but when times of reality come, the true nature of such "Moderation" appears at once—*i.e.* that it is only another name for having no fixed principles.

All which, I cannot doubt, you will forcibly state in your address at Newark.

May God speed you in this as in all things. I don't think that my view of Revolution is the difference between thirty and sixty years old : it lies deeper.

11th August 1868.

No doubt, in the affairs of man, a first principle "cannot be used but in combination with some instrument."

But, I apprehend, it is the principle which governs, not the instrument. Otherwise it is not a principle at all, but only what is called "expediency."

The thing which is outside man's private judgment is resolved into something which is inside it, and which depends upon the view taken by this man or that man of the shifting circumstances of the day.

Better say, surely, at once that there is no such thing as a principle in the affairs of men, than claim it for them, and proceed to evacuate it at once by such a process as this.

Again I go further back than any Pope. I go for my

¹ Archdeacon of Salop.

Infallibility to the Church Primitive and Catholic before the division of East and West—that is, I go to *The Holy Ghost*. I rest in the Holy Scriptures as then settled and determined once for all—in the Church and her Ministry, the Creeds and the Sacraments, as then held, ordained, taught and administered.

I admit nothing to have any claim to be called “True” which contradicts any of these; so that “private judgment” is for me excluded. All that I was to hold as a Verity, had been settled for me before I was born, and remains after me just the same, however I may have dealt with it.

I fear me, after all, you are a blue and yellow young man.

*To Miss Denison*¹

EAST BRENT, WESTON-SUPER-MARE,
20th November 1868.

Radicals and destructives, High Church and no Church, are up in the world; Conservatives are, I hope, done for. In all this I see some hope of a return to better and truer things. But if this is to come to pass at all, which may be doubted, one thing is sufficiently clear: that it cannot be upon the basis of the coming Parliamentary majority. I am glad it is big: it will the sooner fall to pieces. There are plenty of nice little quarrels all through it already. So long as the overthrowing, so far as this can be done by law, of the Church of the Reformation is made a political ladder, sooner or later the ladder is sure to break. With this I comfort myself, as well as I can. Meantime I am glad that you are glad, if I may be.

To Mrs G. Denison

THE ENGLISH CHURCH UNION,
11 BURLEIGH STREET, STRAND,
12th January 1869.

Twelve hours yesterday — six sub-committee, six general committee—ended at 10 P.M.; not a bit tired. Got home to tea and toast, slept till five, wrote my opening address, and am here preparing for meeting.

¹ Louisa Evelyn, only daughter of the Bishop of Salisbury. Written on the occasion of Edward Denison's election as Liberal Member for Newark.

We shall have a great fight, but I am not a bit afraid either of the order of the meeting¹ or of the general issue of the debate. I never saw such a man as Bennett in my life, for doggedness. The amount of his obstinacy arising continually out of misapprehension of what others mean, when he does not take ordinary pains to ascertain their meaning, as he might do easily, is very curious.

We are working quietly this morning, Perry,² Grueber and I, to clear all up as well as we can. I had to rule both Committees yesterday very sharp. I must say they were very kind and meek to me, but if I had not, we should have been at it now.

The meeting is exciting great interest, by all accounts.

To Mrs G. Denison

JERUSALEM CHAMBER,
26th February 1869.

I send you *Times*—read first leading article.

A scene in our House this morning on presentation of our Holy Eucharist Petition with ninety-nine signatures of Priests.

It was finally referred to Committee of Privileges: it remains to be seen what we shall report. Last Convocation I was Chairman of the Committee, but under the existing circumstances I shall decline to be Chairman. If Committee decides on recommending the House not to receive the Petition, I have done with Convocation; but I will hope better things. It would be most monstrous and fatal.

I have placed it in the Archbishop's hands. We shall see what Upper House will do.

We have just been up with Amendments and Address. Bishop of Lichfield is staunch about Church in Ireland. Oxford has gone quite round, as came out distinctly at breakfast this morning.

¹ Meeting held immediately after the Privy Council's decision in the Appeal from the Arches Court in the case of Martin v. Mackonochie.

² Rev. T. W. Perry, Vicar of Ardleigh, Colchester; Rev. C. Grueber, Vicar of Hambridge, described by the Archdeacon as "the able, loving, indefatigable helper of many years."—"Notes of my Life," p. 224.)

We are all against him, and his best friends allow that his course is irretrievably damaging to himself.

I have never seen such an attendance in our House. It is curious how sound doctrine is just the last thing that men will give any attention to. They are all for building, and caring nothing of the foundation.

In short, I cannot help feeling that a break-up is very near, and that, when it comes, there will be no concert or genuine agreement upon first principles. Doubtless the Truth of God will vindicate itself in the end, but I believe, that having regard to long and prevailing negations, it will be only after and through a great time of suffering.

The House is going on now with all earnestness and attention about "exchange of livings." These are nicknamed "Practical things." I have always thought there is no such thing as true practice without, first, having sound and true principles, especially in matters directly affecting the State of the Church of Christ.

So I leave them alone to talk about all these things—not that I do not care about them, for they are important in their place and their degree, but relatively to Doctrine, they have no importance.

I find myself on I don't know how many Committees, and was asked by Dean of Ely to be on another to-day, but I declined, saying that it might possibly happen that I should be placed in such a position by the decision upon this Petition, that I could no longer take any part in the proceedings of Convocation in future.

To Mrs G. Denison

9th October 1869.

The row on Thursday night made me strain my throat, but I am getting all right again, and have all to-day to rest.

Yesterday morning, the old Rector came to me in a great fright, and said: "The Protestant Editor tells me you are a confirmed Ritualist." I said, "Dear Mr Rector, I told you yesterday that I will preach in your Church just as you preach, *i.e.* in a gown. For 'Ritualists,' I have always said let them alone." "May I say so?" says he. "By all means," says I. So he goes and writes a silly letter in

the *Courier* this morning, which forces me to explain my own position in my own words.

The quiet hearing which Mackonochie has had in Congress is full of comfort, and nothing could be better than the matter and the manner of all that he said. Of course, if he had to speak at the Workman's Meeting, they would have howled him down at the bidding of their leaders—that is, some of them would, and many more than could be got to howl me down.

The simple account of the case is, that the "Evans," having been in Congress at a very great discount, revenged themselves by help of the Workman's Meeting, and cannot be reasonably denied their trifling success. A letter from Pusey in deep distress about Temple's¹ appointment. I thought always that sooner or later he would be compelled to give up Gladstone.

To Mrs G. Denison

LEEDS, 13th October 1869.

The change of address to Church Institute² into address to Tea-party and *Soirée* made my paper not fitting—too long, too deep, too full. I was obliged to leave out one half and so spoil it, but as it will all be printed, it does not signify. The unpleasant truths that I have to tell out plainly require much candour and big throats to swallow them; and so, as I expected fully, I am much less generally acceptable than under my old form.

But I believe I am much more useful, and so I keep never minding. "Conservative" Member here plainly had much to do to keep himself from going at me; no doubt I gave him cause. A poor, washy, egotistical man he seemed. As it was, I was about one hour twenty minutes, but it was not more than half the Lecture—quite a case of "pearls" as to the many present, so I saw I had better draw in my hand and cast no more of them.

Poor people! What a thing it is that, in the Nineteenth Century, true teaching should yet have not only to be given them, but to be formed in the teachers!

¹ Appointment of Rev. F. Temple, to See of Exeter.

² The Church Congress of 1869 was held at Leeds.

To Mrs G. Denison

LEEDS, 14th October 1869.

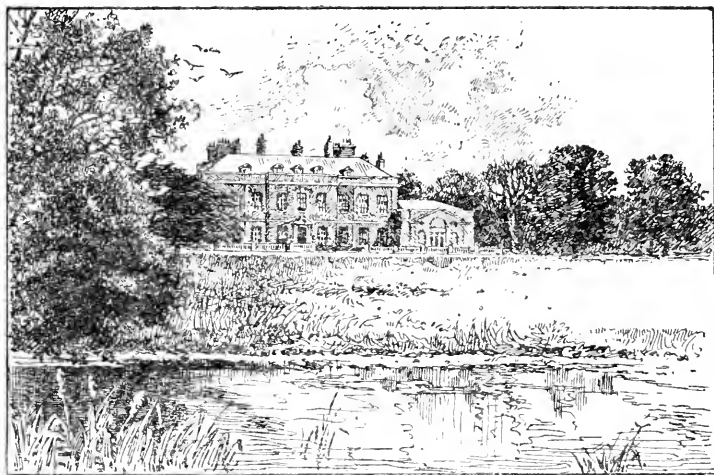
Great reception at E.C.U. yesterday. I have made myself a member, thinking that time has plainly come when we must get together in every possible way.

Pusey's two letters, about Temple, to me, and also Archdeacon of Exeter's, are full of deep distress. I have opened the battle up here, and it will be fought out.

A wonderful function yesterday morning and evening at S. Saviour and S. Barnabas. I preached in the evening—great crowd. Priest saying prayers in the most gorgeous cope conceivable, etc., etc., and two small boys in red and white waiting, one on him and one on me—I in fine stole, white silk all over work. It amuses me that I have not been able once to wear my stole.

Churchwarden and lay people came crowding round me afterwards, shaking hands, and begging to have sermon.

I had only a few notes on one side half-sheet of note-paper. One of them said he would write out all the sermon from them, and I gave them to him. I am curious to see what he makes of it.



OSSINGTON.

1870-1873

DR F. TEMPLE was appointed by the Crown to the Bishopric of Exeter, in 1870. His appointment met with considerable resistance in many quarters, on the ground of his connection with "Essays and Reviews." Arch-deacon Denison brought forward in Convocation a "Gravamen" against it, but, on being informed that Dr Temple's essay would not be reprinted, withdrew his opposition in Convocation, and also at the Office of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

The "Conscience Clause" and proposed "New Lectionary" occupied the rest of his time in Convocation, until, in the summer of the same year, his activities were suspended by a long and dangerous illness, from which he did not fully recover till late in the following year. In 1871, he wrote to Canon Liddon, expressing his fears as

to the persistent deterioration of the Establishment, especially by the loss of the Church Schools. After his recovery from his long illness he held an indignation meeting at Taunton, about the Endowed Schools Commissions, and in December went to Oxford to consult with Dr Pusey about the possibilities of the coming Privy Council Judgment in the case of *Sheppard v. Bennett*. The Rev. W. E. Bennett was Vicar of Frome Selwood, and published "A Plea for Toleration in the Church of England," in the form of a letter to Dr Pusey. In this letter he treated of the Doctrine of the Real Presence, but in terms so loose and inaccurate that (by Dr Pusey's advice) he changed them in the 3rd Edition. Nevertheless he was prosecuted, and the Dean of Arches, in a Judgment of great learning, decided that it was lawful for a Clergyman to teach the Doctrine of the Real Presence in the elements consecrated in Holy Communion. This Judgment the Privy Council confirmed in 1872.

The other letters of 1871, refer to a visit paid by the Archdeacon to his eldest brother, Speaker Denison, at the family home at Ossington, and mention is made in them of the Speaker's intended retirement from office, which took place at the Meeting of Parliament in the following Spring, when he was created Viscount Ossington. His health, which had already been much impaired by long Parliamentary Sessions, gave way soon afterwards, and he died in March 1873.

In 1872, Archdeacon Denison was engaged in defeating in Convocation a scheme for discussing and re-translating the Athanasian Creed, proposed by Archbishop Tait.

In 1873, the question of Confession occupied much of his attention, and he attended a stormy meeting at the Bath Church Congress. In the autumn he published a Latin pamphlet called "*Episcopatus Bilinguis*," directed

against the double voice which he considered to be forced on the Bishops by their position as belonging to the State as well as to the Church.

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
9th February 1870.

I have at last got a Gravamen¹ in the simplest form, upon the Temple Consecration, ready for to-day. I will keep this open, and tell you the issue of my proposal to make it "*Articulus Cleri*."

Gravamen refused as "*Articulus Cleri*" by 50 or thereabouts to 15. It goes up with such names as it will receive.

I have said nothing upon the position in which the Synod is placed by the refusal, having as yet had no opportunity of doing so, nor do I know that I shall say a word; but I am disposed to think that I shall not continue to attend the sittings of a body which has, I believe, betrayed itself and the Church of the Province. I cannot see how I can without betraying myself.

To Mrs G. Denison

JERUSALEM CHAMBER,
10th February 1870.

The Temple battle is, so far as I am concerned, at an end, God be thanked. It being stated in our House yesterday, upon conclusive authority, that Essay I² would not be published again, I withdrew my Gravamen, and have written to withdraw my opposition at S.P.G.

Just carried by a great majority that a Gravamen asking for perfect liberty of religious teaching with perfect

¹ A petition signed by six clergy of the diocese of Exeter, objecting to the consecration of Dr Temple as Bishop of Exeter, on the ground that the "introductory Essay of 'Essays and Reviews,' is essentially at variance with many fundamental doctrines of the Church." Defeated—15 for, 40 against. This Essay was called "The Education of the World."

² Published in "Essays and Reviews."

liberty of refusing it, be considered, with a view to making it "*Articulus Cleri*." Will be a long debate, and I shall be beat, of course. But that is nothing new; it will be continuously so now, probably as long as I live.

*To the Right Hon. J. E. Denison, Speaker of
the House of Commons*

JERUSALEM CHAMBER,
10th February 1870.

The issue of the strife about the Bishop of Exeter's position is far better than we had been able to anticipate.

We have got rid of the stigma laid upon the Church by the book; we shall see no more of the book.

Upon this, with the concurrence of the Dean of Norwich and others who had joined with me, I withdrew from all opposition in this House. I extend it to opposition elsewhere, and have, therefore, signified to the Secretary of the S.P.G. that I shall offer now no opposition to the election of the Bishop of Exeter as Vice-President on Friday, 18th inst.

To Mrs G. Denison

JERUSALEM CHAMBER,
11th February 1870.

Temple is making a Statement in Upper House this morning. I hope earnestly he will say nothing injuriously to affect the peace. But I am in some fear. You will see in *Standard* my letter about S.P.G. There is an article in *Times* after its manner.

Late yesterday, having bided my time, I moved that instead of coming to a vote in half a day upon the question of "National Education," we should go to work gravely and deliberately, and have a Committee. It was accepted at once, and I am just moving for Committee.

Stanley has just read a Statement authorised by Temple, to say that what he is saying in Upper House is the only Statement which he has authorised. He has also said that some erroneous Statements have been made. I am, therefore, in considerable fear about the matter and manner of Temple's Statement.

To Miss Lucy Phillimore¹

EAST BRENT, 8th March 1870.

I buried our Queen on Saturday ; she was a hundred and four. How women do live, making the world too hard for the old men to live in it too. But she was a douce old woman—blind fifteen years—and saw "angels in top-boots coming down her chimney in strings every night and sotting on her bed."

To Mrs G. Denison

NATIONAL SOCIETY'S OFFICE,
SANCTUARY, WESTMINSTER,
17th March 1870.

You may not have seen, perhaps, Mr Winterbotham called me in House of Commons, Tuesday night, "that exceptional and self - convicted fanatic Archdeacon Denison." B. Hope thought he must say something kind of me : "Archdeacon Denison, certainly an extreme man, but one whose chivalrous generosity even dissenters might be glad to imitate."

Oh dear me !

To Sir Charles Young, Bart.²

EAST BRENT, 7th April 1870.

The distress is beyond the power of Convocation to remedy, even if it had, which it has not, anything approaching to an united will and purpose.

In the abstract, the corporate action of a Church "Established by Law" in a "free" country of all religions and of none, is necessarily hostile to dogma.

For the concrete, the experience of three hundred years has sufficed to show that the attempt to tie together

¹ His niece, youngest daughter of Right Honourable Sir R. Phillimore.

² Sir C. L. Young, Bart., Secretary of English Church Union ; died 1887.

by the bowstring of the Establishment the Sacramental and the non-Sacramental system has wholly failed.

Moreover, there are some things which in a "free" country are never free. First among these come Dogma and Church authority: things which above all others the popular mind cannot apprehend, and as such cannot tolerate.

To Mrs G. Denison

27th April 1870.

Dear old Lord Auckland is dead—a kind and honest friend to us—one more sign to us of the breaking up around us of all things here. How short life is to dispute and trouble in, to do anything in but love and help!

The report is gradually assuming a less unsatisfactory character. I procured the insertion of a leading sentence yesterday, marking its character, which, with a few verbal alterations, was adopted unanimously.¹

I also carried my own Resolution about Denominational Inspection, which had been put aside at our first meeting.

Fortunately the Resolution then passed was so defective that it was necessary to reopen it.

In short, except upon the Cardinal point of accepting a Conscience Clause, the Committee is with me, and not with Canon Hopkins.² And I see that when it comes to the Conscience Clause, it will not be a time Conscience Clause, which is the worst form of it.

To Mrs G. Denison

29th April 1870.

By great exertions, yesterday I got Report³ through, so that we have left for to-day only questions of arrangements, in which I shall have the help of a few members, and so be able to put it finally into printer's hands this evening.

It has been a tough work, but I have stood it quite

¹ Refers to Education Bill of 1870.

² Canon of Ely.

³ Of Committee on Education in Convocation.

well, and have had heaps of best assistance. Amongst others, Fagan has been most helping and very wise, except that at one moment he seemed to be going wild about time Conscience Clause ; but he soon saw that he had been under a mistake as to his data. Canon Hopkins, too, has taken the unsparing handling of his draught most amiably, and I have not had to row any member much. But I see that if I had not been Chairman the thing would have well-nigh collapsed. As it is, I am less distressed with it than I ever thought possible—though the Cardinal point of buying State aid at the price of Conscience Clause is an ineffaceable blot. It is, however, quite plain that men have had their eyes opened to what is surely coming.

To Mrs G. Denison

JERUSALEM CHAMBER,
4th May 1870.

A wonderful speech in support of Jebb's and my Motion for pausing before we assent to the new Lectionary.

I went out in the morning, before post came ; then to breakfast at S. Winton,¹ where I gave them some bits of my mind. My breath was taken away yesterday. It is really too bad in the midst of debate upon Lectionary, *i.e.* Revision of Prayer Book, down comes a message from Upper House about Revision of Bible. And these are two things, with many others of great importance, which we are asked to settle, so far as we can, in four days. Alas ! alas ! are the Bishops mad ?

I have carried unanimously my Report of Committee on Privileges, and, as soon as the present debate is over, I move that, before proceeding to any other business, we come to a decision upon Report of Committee on " Primary National Education."

You will see in *Standard* of to-day what I said in laying on the table the Report.

However, my business as Chairman is to see the business through—though at my own personal cost—and I have, with exception of " Conscience Clause," licked the Reports into a decent shape.

Even dear old Archdeacon Allen is making a very good

¹ Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Winchester.

speech for old Lectionary concurrently with new Lectionary. The House is very full, and I expect that we shall win, but I don't think that the debate is near at an end yet.

To the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone

EAST BRENT, 13th July 1870.

A sick bed¹ calls out and tests many cravings of the soul. I could not be satisfied, having regard to the relations of our lives, without simply asking your pardon for anything written or said by me which may carry with it, or appear to carry with it, lack of charity.

To Miss Denison

WATERPERRY, OXFORD,
26th January 1871.

Most words lose by translation, especially prayers from the Latin.

The true Latin is, "*ab improvisâ morte*"—from a death unprovided against. All such deaths are indeed sudden to the dying person, and as such to be earnestly prayed against. But there is no call to pray against the sudden coming of death when provided against. It is, I should say with you, all the shock notwithstanding, a mercy, and as such, matter for thankfulness, not for deprecation. Some Latin Litanies have "*subitâ*" or "*subitantiâ*," in place of "*improvisâ*." It is, if correct, wrong in doctrine.

People who contend for it, however—and there are those who do—appear to overlook the fact that they make the whole petition tautologous—"From battle and murder and from sudden death": death by battle and murder is sudden. If it had been, "and from all sudden death," or, "from other," they would have had some ground to go upon; but as it stands, I don't think they have any.

¹ In June 1870, Archdeacon Denison fell into a sudden and dangerous illness, from which he did not entirely recover till late in 1871. To this letter Mr Gladstone answered: "I do not think you have given me any occasion to exercise the virtue of forgiveness, but if you had, I think there could be no one to whom it would be more easy and delightful to put it in practice."

To the Rev. Canon Liddon

EAST BRENT, 25th July 1871.

Your letter is full of comfort—thank you many times. It strikes a note which is always sounding in my ears, and which, perhaps, it would have been better to have tried to make heard in my “Letter” more expressly and particularly.

I fear most of all—what I gather that you fear—not the loss of the “Establishment,” but the persistent deterioration of it till it becomes only a mass of Protestant negations, with just so much of “salt” remaining as those remaining faithful in it will be able to preserve. I believe that to bring this condition of the Establishment about—that is, to make it what is called “The National Church of Century Nineteen”—is, and has been for the last forty years, the great object of many among ourselves; and that others, to a frightful amount, are lending themselves to its accomplishment. Gradually the means develop themselves, and the deeper begin feebly to open their eyes, *e.g.*—When Government held out to managers of Church Schools that if they would meet Government requirements they should be helped to the extent of fifty per cent. of their outlay, the bait was swallowed greedily—so greedily, that what was meant by Government requirements was never stopped to be ascertained. It turns out, as might have been expected, to be an ever shifting and increasing quicksand, swallowing up in its advance what was never supposed by these weak people to be in any danger. Thus—granting for argument’s sake what I cannot grant—if they had an excuse for conceding and welcoming in the outset upon the old requirements, they find themselves now utterly confounded by the new.

It is a requirement now that all schools receiving State aid must have certificated masters. This being an impossibility to most Parish Schools—as Council Office very well know—the schools will be pronounced “inefficient,” though they have adopted all the old requirements, that is, the requirements of 1869.

Being pronounced “insufficient,” the way is open to a “School Board.” Now a school board is the most power-

ful engine of future indifference, latitudinarianism and infidelity.

I think this wants well and clearly working out, in the hope of making people see the imminent and great danger we are in; and how to "save establishment" at prices like these is nothing else than to betray our trust.

But I cannot undertake it just now, except by way of letters in newspapers, which are an insufficient way of dealing with it. They might, however, suggest thoughts of what that is which we are about in Century XIX.

To Miss Denison

EAST BRENT, 27th September 1871.

These are days—very unhappy ones, I think—of an over-wrought and over-estimated intellectuality; and this is very commonly put into the place of, and called upon to discharge the functions of, that simple and childlike faith which is commended to us in God's Word as the only way to rest and peace.

Now men may call upon their intellect as much as they please to do the work of faith, but it cannot do it. The subject matter upon which it is asked to exercise itself is wholly beyond the grasp of the intellect, and the result is necessarily disappointment, and, in many cases, unbelief altogether. Men have left the one path which, however "straight and narrow," gets broader and easier at every step—have sought to come to their journey's end by other paths of their own making, which cannot possibly lead them where they want to go.

To Miss Lucy Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 17th November 1871.

I am quite strong. Was two hours at an "indignation" meeting, called by self at Taunton, about those most miserable spoliators, Endowed Schools Commissioners.

Adjournment moved, and people rushed out of the room to avoid saying "yes" or "no." I laughed.

One hundred and thirty people memorialised me not to hold the meeting. I told them that if, instead of the bland and suave manner in which they had approached me, they had intimated that if I came they would meet me on the bridge and throw me into the river, I hoped I should have come all the same, and that they would have let me pass. One opponent said, if I was consistent, I ought to have taken my name off University of Oxford; quoth I, "I have."

Again, he appealed to me in the Chair as to what I had to say of Conscience Clause. Quoth I, "It isn't usual to catechise the Chairman, but, as you ask me, my answer is that it is an invention of the Devil."

Much merriment followed these lively strokes, and I came home to dinner, and an elegant *Soirée Musicale* at the Vicarage.

*To Miss Phillimore*¹

WATERPERRY, OXFORD,
5th December 1871.

I have been into Oxford to-day to have a talk with Pusey about what the forthcoming Judgment² may possibly make necessary. Meantime, let us hope it may close the series of proceedings of this character without destroying the link that binds the Church "as Established by law" to the Church "Catholic." There is so much to be done to help to save souls in a time of presumptuous ignorance and speculative unbelief, that one cannot help lamenting over the waste of time and energies and money which such proceedings carry with them.

And yet, after all, I suppose the trial they bring is to be accepted humbly and patiently, as of God's good Providence caring for His people.

¹ His niece, eldest daughter of Sir R. Phillimore.

² Refers to the case of Sheppard *v.* Bennett. An Appeal had been made from the judgment of the Dean of Arches (Sir R. Phillimore) to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. The Judicial Committee upheld the Dean of Arches' decision. Cf. Letter of 10th June 1872.

To Mrs G. Denison

OSSINGTON, NEWARK,
13th December 1871.

Got here about five—not a bit tired. They are both looking very well. The place wonderfully improved inside and out, especially in front, the terrace charming, and the water really beautiful with its islands. There are at least 400 ducks now sitting on the ice. I have been looking at them through a double glass, and can see the colours of the plumage. It is as pretty a sight as you could wish to see. I have been driving to the station with Louisa to get latest accounts.¹ After no fewer than six instances of recovery from typhoid fever, given me by three eye-witnesses in the train yesterday, after longer illness, and, apparently, even more hopeless than in the Prince's case, I am more hopeful than I was.

Please send me the bit out of *Revue des Deux Mondes* about *repas aux Cadavres*, with the reference to St Augustine. I don't find St Augustine here, but I may at Peterborough—probably not at Babworth.

To Mrs G. Denison

OSSINGTON, NEWARK,
14th December 1871.

Robert Miles and eldest daughter—nice clever girl—came yesterday. This morning we have been seeing the farm-cottages, decoy, Moorhouse Chapel; Chapel very good. Mrs Robert is doing me a sketch of water and ducks, from dining-room window. I think Evelyn in great force and vigour. His cottages are excellent, and the whole place in great order.

Great lamentations from Miles at your non-appearance. Her drawings are beautiful, and they are all most pleasant company. One of the cottagers knew me—said I was like dear William, because I was stout.

* Refers to the illness of King Edward VII., then Prince of Wales.

To Mrs G. Denison

OSSINGTON, NEWARK,
15th December 1871.

We had Mr Martin¹ here from Laxton last night. He has three services every Sunday, and I am going to preach for him Sunday morning at Moorhouse. A very pleasing man, and a great favourite here.

Evelyn has been showing me several efforts, English and Latin, for the Canning inscription. It must be in English, because it has to be put in the same niche in the Abbey with his father's Statue, the inscription of which is in English. I like Evelyn's best of the English, and Robert's of the Latin.

One or two things in the English want retouching, and he has asked me to see what I could do—so I have been trying my hand. Am not quite satisfied, and lament the loss of the Latin, but it can't be helped under the circumstances. It is very mild and pleasant out, and the house very warm and comfortable. I have just seen the bull six months old, one hundred and fifty-five guineas at Duke of Devonshire's sale; cow, three years, second calf in January, one hundred and fifty guineas; great bull, one hundred and eighty guineas—all very magnificent.

To Mrs G. Denison

OSSINGTON, NEWARK,
17th December 1871.

Evelyn retires; he told me so Wednesday, but did not wish it communicated just then to others—so I held my peace, even to you, meaning to tell you first thing if there was no more said.

To-day he has just told me it will shortly be made public. I have written a few lines to your dear father by his wish.

He says he could not expose himself again to the fatigue, and his dissatisfaction—between ourselves—with what went on last session under Gladstone is extreme.

¹ Rev. H. Martin, Vicar of Laxton, Notts.

To the Rev. Canon Liddon

WATERPERRY, OXFORD,
30th December 1871.

The possible event of an adverse Judgment in the Bennett case is always before my mind.

In that event I think you will agree with me that no time may be lost in endeavouring to remedy the evil that will have been done. All delay will produce desertion, and weaken the cause of the Truth. Pusey told me what he was prepared to do; and supposing the Judgment to be delivered in January, and to be adverse, his move would break ground well. But I do not believe it would have any issue but a negative one.

The Convocation of the Province meets Wednesday, 7th February, and it seems to me that it is there only where, in the event supposed, any sufficient step can be taken.

A Declaration of individual Clergy might, I suppose, be largely signed, but much more than this would be wanted and must be sought for. Nothing could, I think, meet the case but a declaration of both Houses of the Provincial Synod that the Church of England, as by law Established, does not exclude from the teaching of her Clergy the Doctrine of the Real Presence, which I am supposing to have been excluded by Judgment of Judicial Committee.

The exact manner of stating this, and the way of approaching and endeavouring to secure it, are things for much deliberation; and I fear that—supposing the necessity to arise—unless we come together and decide upon these things, we shall be doing our cause a great injustice, and fighting the battle of the Truth at a great disadvantage imposed upon ourselves by ourselves.

I am very sorry to hear that Pusey has been so ill. I hope you can tell me he is better.

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
7th February 1872.

Evelyn has not been well—some affection of bronchial tubes from cold.

For first time for one hundred and seventy years or so, the Crown is sending “letters of business” to Convocation,

Of course Convocation people are very much pleased. Not wishing for any legislation of any kind in Church matters, I am not, and shall say as much.

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
10th February 1872.

I have written to Evelyn.

The report of proceedings in House of Commons on Thursday is very moving.¹ They go to Cannes next week.

I saw Gull at Lambeth, and am very glad that he insists on it as a right precaution. The pension² is, you see, declined. I still think this is a mistake, but it is an honourable one.

To the Rev. Canon Liddon

EAST BRENT, 3rd April 1872.

It is the first of Gregory's resolutions that I find fault with even more than the second—though I think this, too, very unfortunate.

The first deals weakly with the substance of the Creed³—not at all with the position in Prayer Book, only vaguely, and partially, with the use; and says nothing about a note.

For the second, it is not the damage to the beauty and majesty of expression that I am contending against. It is the farce of proposing to meet an assault which means destruction by a proposal to make a few unimportant re-translations. And what is the "original" of which the Resolution speaks?

I do not understand how the Archbishop's action in throwing down the Creed to be discussed "under all its aspects," can be made to consist with his assurance that no harm to the Creed is intended.

The discussion, if so commenced, may extend to everything included under the Creed—at least there is nothing

¹ Refers to the Speaker's retirement.

² The Speaker declined to receive the usual Pension.

³ Of St Athanasius.

to prevent it. I am very sad about the ready following of the Archbishop's lead which our House presents, and I cannot think that the way in which our friends are proposing to meet the danger shows any faith in the position, but only something very like a temporising policy.

I look to the clergy outside to come to the rescue. I have long given up all hope of the Bishops, and think nothing much of our House. Both in point of form and substance, our position is all wrong in respect of this matter. Whether it can be mended is more than I can undertake to say. But one thing seems clear to me that it is not going to be mended by such moves as Gregory's and Compton's.

To Mrs G. Denison

82 ECCLESTON SQUARE,
24th April 1872.

I had an ovation last night at Sion College. Bishop of London, Lyttelton, Stanley, Mowbray and Dickinson, etc., with some one hundred and fifty Clergy at dinner, and they cheered me wonderfully. Stanley, of course, it being St George's day, dished me up with the Dragon, and I told them that, as he had identified himself with the Dragon I was well content, the which tickled them much.

We are tabulating Petitions.¹ I presented seventy-five, with over thirteen thousand signatures — hardly any for meddling with creed ; but I see many men are cowardly and shakey. Compton² made a very good speech, one hour and forty minutes. I have received a capital bit of learning from an undoubted hand last night, of which I shall make use to-day.

To Mrs G. Denison

82 ECCLESTON SQUARE,
25th April 1872.

My speech was thought good. Next to me Stanley made one of his bitterest efforts, not at me, but against Creed. For me, he said only that my opposition was an augury of success from all past experience.

¹ In reference to Archbishop Tait's proposal to make the use of the Athanasian Creed optional.

² Rev. Lord Alwyne Compton, now Bishop of Ely.

But for the Creed, he called it untruthful, and other things of the same kind. Many of us called "shame," and I rose to order. Prolocutor decided for Stanley, saying he was arguing for getting rid of "damnatory clauses," thus declaring from the Chair either that they were not to be considered as a part of the Creed, or, if they were, that the Creed is untruthful, unchristian, and the like. I left the House, saying I would not stay to hear such a description of one of the Creeds of the Church pass unreprieved by the Chair, or such an attempt to sever between these Clauses and the rest of the Creed allowed and sanctioned by the Chair.

Several of us feel this act of the Prolocutor so keenly that we are going to write him a joint private letter of remonstrance. He has made it impossible ever to stop any other language in the House, however indecent and unfitting, and he has most seriously compromised the character and dignity of the House.

Dean of Norwich¹ supported my speech very heartily, then Kempe made one of the most wearisome and foolish speeches I ever heard, and we adjourned.²

Am going to S. Winton to breakfast. Bishops evidently begin to see that they had better have left the thing alone.

To Mrs G. Denison

CONVOCATION, 26th April 1872.

I was at 5 Arlington Street (*soirée*) last night after dining at Deanery. It is told us this morning, what I anticipated last night, that Lady Augusta Stanley has lost a sister.³ It was brave and kind of her under such a prospect to receive us all at dinner and afterwards. Poor Stanley has been taken to task so much for his extreme violence that I cannot help feeling much for him, though surely he has deserved it.

¹ Rev. E. M. Goulburn.

² At the close of the four days' debate, Lord Alwyne Compton's Motion—that the Creed should continue to be used in its integrity—was carried by 62 to 7. Canon Blakesley's proposal, that it should be treated as a Hymn or Canticle, was negatived by 42 to 19. Archdeacon Denison then carried a Rider by 42 to 12 that the Creed should be said on no fewer days than at present.

³ Lady Charlotte Locker.

To Mrs G. Denison

JERUSALEM CHAMBER,
30th April 1872.

Have just moved my amendments—45 minutes ; pleased myself fairly well, and, I think, some others, but it will be a close fight if we win—which I do not expect to do ; not more than forty members present.

My amendment is :—

“That in the opinion of this House there is no sufficient reason for entertaining the question of a re-translation of the Athanasian Creed.”

Jebb¹ is seconding me. Compton moved the Resolution to which mine is an amendment, and Kaye² seconded.

When this debate is disposed of, we come to the note, upon which also there will be a long debate.

To Mrs G. Denison

1st May 1872.

Weak people are eating up bit by bit the gain of last Friday, and I don't think any of it will be left.

Was beat by 30 to 7 about “re-translation.” The weakness is miserable ; shall tell them a few things this morning. Position of our House now only ridiculous ; I had my fears about it from the first, when I saw what was proposed by way of “defence.” But they have surpassed my expectations. Like Mr Waters, they “abuse their privileges.”

2.30 debate going on after luncheon—issue appears doubtful. Many good men wobble dreadfully ; can't depend upon anybody but Jebb ; on the other hand, many have declared themselves wholly against note.

My general conclusion is that we are steadily drifting into the “popular” wave, protesting all the time against it, but swimming with it all the time vigorously.

It is a position wholly unreal and humiliating.

If I can carry my amendment, viz. :—

“That in the opinion of this House, there is no room for any explanatory note upon ‘the damnatory clauses’ of

¹ Rev. J. Jebb., D.D.

Archdeacon of Lincoln.

the Athanasian Creed," the "*non possumus*" position will have gained a great point. But I can hardly allow myself to anticipate so good an issue, looking at the curious shade of men's minds.

For amendment of Archdeacon of Taunton .	23
Against it	18

To Mrs G. Denison

82 ECCLESTON SQUARE,
2nd May 1872.

I knew division would be close. I might have had more votes if I would have watered down my Amendment, but I respectfully but warmly declined to do so, being minded to have an unmistakable vote, and God be thanked I have got it. So of the 5 points I have got 4, and the one I have not got, re-translation, is all nonsense, and will come to nothing, for there is nothing to come to. It is a bit of the silliest "conciliation" I have known, giving assailant a stone to bite at when he demands bread to eat.

"Friends" are funny people; have always found this, and never more than in the battle of the Faith. I told the House that when the bodies of the time were dug up, much cartilage might be found, but very few backbones, and quoted a line *slightly changed* from that dear old book, "Eton Latin Grammar"—

"*Rara ossa in terris, nigroque simillima cygno.*" House was much tickled thereat.

To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 10th June 1872.

Measuring this Judgment¹ by many things, it is a great mercy to Church of England.

As for the document itself, it is simply miserable. The only two sentences in it which are worth anything are

¹ Refers to Privy Council Decision in Appeal from the Arches Court in the case of *Sheppard v. Bennett*.

(1) that in which it says that the matters under consideration are beyond human understanding ; and (2) that the Appeal is dismissed.

Certainly the framers of it have laid themselves open to a very stinging retort upon your part, if it was worth while to make it. But I don't think it is.

I hope it may be the last of these utter follies that we shall see.

My patience is very severely taxed by the interminable delay in hearing our Appeal.

EAST BRENT, 26th November 1872.

I see this morning the account of a death¹ which must be a great sorrow to you, and which, I fear, must have come upon you very suddenly.

It is very merciful that as years roll along and pass away from us, the aspect of death changes greatly, and every succeeding fall makes those who are left behind in near and dear love cling closer together.

To Mrs G. Denison

3rd February 1873.

The Ossington² report reads to me very bad, and as presenting small ground of hope of anything like recovery.

Charles³ finds heat too much for him, and leaves India finally for England, 16th March.

To Mrs G. Denison

7th March 1873.

Dear Evelyn died at 5 A.M. this morning, without pain or distress.

God be praised for this mercy.

¹ That of Lord Harris, an intimate friend of Sir R. Phillimore.

² The illness of his eldest brother, Lord Ossington.

³ His youngest brother, Colonel Denison.

To Mrs G. Denison

OSSINGTON, 9th March 1873.

There is a notice in yesterday's *Times* very well done. The large amount of public respect and honour is very moving.

It will be, and is, difficult to keep the funeral private, but we mean it to be strictly so.

I have been into the room this morning by myself, and stayed there awhile. The dear face looks unchanged, save only that wonderful repose and peace which belongs only to the dead.

His loss will be very heavily felt by many outside ourselves. He was so excellent a landlord, and known universally to be eminently a just man.

To Mrs G. Denison

JUDGE ADVOCATE GENERAL'S OFFICE,
2nd July 1873.

Nothing of much moment in our House to-day.

Met Archbishop¹ in Dean's Yard. He said: "We have been sitting on your Gravamen,"² and then went on to say how many I presented. Quoth I, "I wish, your Grace, I was not compelled to do so," and showed him by my way of saying it that I did not mean to have it made a joke of. He then went on about Shaftesbury, and this I got rid of pretty soon, and so we parted.

The Gravamen is at length in *Times*, and, I suppose, in other papers.

House prorogued at 5.15 to go and see Shah in Abbey. I would not go. He was in St Paul's in the morning, House of Commons in evening. I saw Attorney-General,³ who got out of his cab to speak to me very kindly, and he told me that the House had actually made a show of its forms, reporting progress, a division, etc., etc., to show him.

¹ Most Rev. A. C. Tait.

² Concerning Confession in the Church of England.

³ Right Honble. Sir J. T. Coleridge.

To Mrs G. Denison

JERUSALEM CHAMBER,
3rd July 1873.

Great fun! I had been making a long and strong speech against doing anything in the matter of the Prayer Book. Alwyne Compton, who is of the same mind, got up to speak not very long afterwards, and said that a very honest man, as honest a man as any in the House, had said that the course of the Committee was not quite honest. Quoth I, "I didn't say so"—he was looking at me, and I thought he meant me. Quoth he, "I didn't mean you, I meant the Dean of Winchester."

The House laughed at me a good deal, and I laughed too, being fairly caught by my own self-esteem, and so deserved to be punished.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood¹

EAST BRENT, 23rd July 1873.

I return Nelson's² letter. I have made a pencil-mark or two at places which would require much re-casting before they could be accepted as a basis.

But I go with him so far as this. I see that the insisting upon fasting Communion is making some of us practically refuse Communion at mid-day to Churchmen presenting themselves to communicate. It was, much more than anything else, this which stirred the Lower House of Convocation to make, by the insertion of a new Rubric, a demonstration against "ultra Ritualism." For this and nothing else is the real gist of the new Rubric.

For myself, I have always protested, and shall protest, against the exaltation of pious opinions into dogma.

I doubt it being possible to bring "Catholic"³ and "Anglican" to any cordial union. But if it can be done, it is worth trying.

I trust a good deal may come of the proposed consultation at time of Bath Congress.

¹ Now Lord Halifax, President of English Church Union since 1868.

² Earl Nelson.

³ With reference to parties within the Church of England.

To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 15th August 1873.

My argument is this—

1. As stated in sermon, the great end of Church of England is to bring her members to be devout and habitual Communicants.

2. The way is the way of true repentance, and confession of sins.

3. Confession is twofold—(a) to God *immediately*; (b) to God *mediately* through man.

4. The first way (indeed at the present time both ways together) brings a very small percentage of Members to be devout and habitual Communicants.

5. It is impossible to suppose that the Church does not know, and has not always known, that (a) fails to bring. Wherefore to say, that in the mind of the Church (b) is only for “Exceptional” cases here and there, is to make the Church contradict herself. In the failure of (a) she relies principally upon (b), and presses it as *general*, not insisting upon it as *universal*. The Bishops are doing their utmost to confuse and irritate. They are mixing up two things together which are in kind distinct.

1. “Habitual” as opposed to “occasional,” as respects the individual.

2. “General” (not universal), as opposed to “Exceptional,” as respects the Congregation.

For 1. The Church has no rule—as indeed she cannot have—except the man’s own sense of his own need.

For 2. The argument, as I have put it, drawn from the Church’s own connection between Confession, Absolution, and Holy Communion, I hold to be simply unanswerable.

N.B.—The mind of Church of England cannot be understood in this matter apart from the connection she has herself established between it and Holy Communion.

To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore

29th August 1873.

The sermon has reached its fifth thousand.¹ Nobody has really grappled with my argument, either as respects "habitual" or "exceptional"—two distinct things.

When the Church tells her Priest to say, "If there be any of you, etc.," and knows *a priori* that this applies to, at the least, five-sixths of the Congregation, it certainly does appear that to call such an Exhortation, which, in its connection, amounts to a rule, "exceptional," is to make the Church stultify herself.

I observe that you do not touch that part of the argument which is drawn from "the Visitation of the Sick."

Here it is simply impossible to defend "exceptional." If a man has no "weighty matter on his soul" (whether he be a communicant or not), he is in a curious state of preparation for death, as many of our greatest and best men have shown that they felt.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT,
22nd September 1873.

It is very good of you to write at this time. All our best wishes and prayers for you and yours.

I think there can be no doubt about men coming together at the private meeting.

For the general question, the "platform" of Church Congresses is so unsound and shaky that it is a very real question whether it should not be openly dealt with as such. It is constructed upon the plan of leaving out all that has any real strength in it, and of building up itself with secondary stuff, "*decies repetita*" but not "*placens*." I have always had to force in somehow what has studiously been left out, and I shall have to do it this time in larger quantity.

I should be very glad to see Church Congresses disappear. They are delusive things, and have, I think, done

¹ Sermon preached at Wells Cathedral in August, on Confession, Absolution, and Holy Communion.

no good. I thought they might once, but I have lived to see my thought proved vain. It was on this ground that I declined to be a Vice-President. But I do not feel that I can properly be absent.

To Mrs G. Denison

16 ST JAMES' SQUARE,
8th October 1873.

Such a row! As soon as I appeared on platform, about half the Congress rose, and shouted and waved hats, etc., other half here and there gently hissed.¹

Bishop came in just then and we shook hands. I had not said two sentences before the row began. After a bit, and before he could know what I was going to say, and how I was going to say it, the Bishop got up and said he failed to see that what I was saying (which I had not said) was to the point, and that he thought it was not in good taste or good feeling; but that as it would only be for a few minutes, he wished the Congress to hear me.

Row continued — seven minutes up. In last three minutes I said: "If you don't like the truth, I am sorry for you. What I was going to say will find its way to you through the press, and if you don't like to hear me, I don't care three straws," and gave my speech to the reporters.

I must say for my dear self that I kept my temper all through, even when the Chairman did his little all to smother and blacken me.

Bishop's opening address was, I am told, mild and conciliatory in tone. It is when these men begin to act that they betray themselves at once.

I had gone over what I meant to say in the morning, and had carefully taken out everything that could possibly raise any reasonable objection.

I shall have a large meeting to-morrow. I have got Randall and three laymen to speak.

¹ Speaking at the Bath Congress on the present position of the Church, Archdeacon Denison said he had come to the conclusion that it was almost hopeless to continue the struggle against Disestablishment. "I have no doubt as to the duty of a nation to have a National Church, but looking at the peculiar circumstances of these times, and at the present constitution of the House of Commons, I am convinced that unless Church-people make a different fight for their Church, I do not see how it is possible for anything to happen but Disestablishment."

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
17th December 1873.

A good meeting—Wood in chair; one or two weak objections taken, but fled before my explanation, and unanimous vote.

Have been this morning to Parker's about a few copies of *Bilinguis*¹ to be sent for me.

The man in the shop gave me a real good laugh, and as I saw people looking at me afterwards in the street, I suppose I laughed as I walked.

He said, "Please, sir, what does '*Bilinguis*' mean? I've been asked many times this morning by the people who go about for new books. They say they suppose it means 'Episcopal Billingsgate.'" Really very funny.

To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore

My indictment is not *in first instance* against the Episcopate, but against that phase of the Church of England, commonly called "The Establishment," which involves, of necessity, the double voice of each and every one of its Bishops.

The Prayer Book, as we have it, with the Articles, is the exponent of that phase of the Church of England, and the Episcopate is the chief exponent and administrator of the Prayer Book and the Articles—and in the matters of ordination and admission to the Cure of Souls, a double-voiced exponent and administrator.

I add nothing here as to modern interpretation of Prayer Book and Articles by Courts of Law, nor as to the natural downward tendency of such interpretations.

To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore

24th December 1873.

I must try again. I am so entirely clear to myself, that I do not willingly remain not clear to you.

¹ This refers to a pamphlet published by Archdeacon Denison, entitled *Episcopatus Bilinguis*, and of which he describes the purport in the following letter to Sir R. Phillimore.

It was the condition of the Episcopate that forced the matter upon my mind.

I have traced the cause of that condition upwards, and some of its effects downwards.

And it must, I think, be abundantly plain that, though I have laid hold of a chief practical issue of the Establishment to call my tract by, my indictment is against the Establishment.

For the *Bilinguitas* of Prayer Book and Articles, and of the Episcopate, as the chief exponent and administrator of them, are issues of the Establishment.

The entire preface, indeed, is directed against the Establishment, as of an evil character, and producing corresponding effects. Even if first Book of King Edward VI. had been preserved, I believe that the civil and social elements of Establishment would have prevailed against the holding fast the truth, much the same as they do now.

To the Rev. Father Newman

EAST BRENT,
HIGHBRIDGE, 23rd December 1873.

I am very thankful for your letter—for its great kindness, and because I believe I can do away with the impression which my letter of fifteen or sixteen years since then left on your mind.¹

I should be sad indeed if I could not do so, for I have very many times cited what you then wrote to me as special proof of your great kindness. It made an impression upon me never to be effaced, and has made me say over and over again that I long to see you once more before I die.

I have a very distinct recollection of the correspondence, as also of one some six or seven years ago about the School matter, but it is the first only which is in question.

You wrote to me about the alternative of a Catholic

¹ Father Newman replied: "Your letter has quite destroyed any pain I have caused myself by a wrong reading of your letters of 1858."

"You may be sure if at any time I came into your neighbourhood I should try to find you out, and to have the pleasure of shaking hands with you; but I scarcely ever move from home."

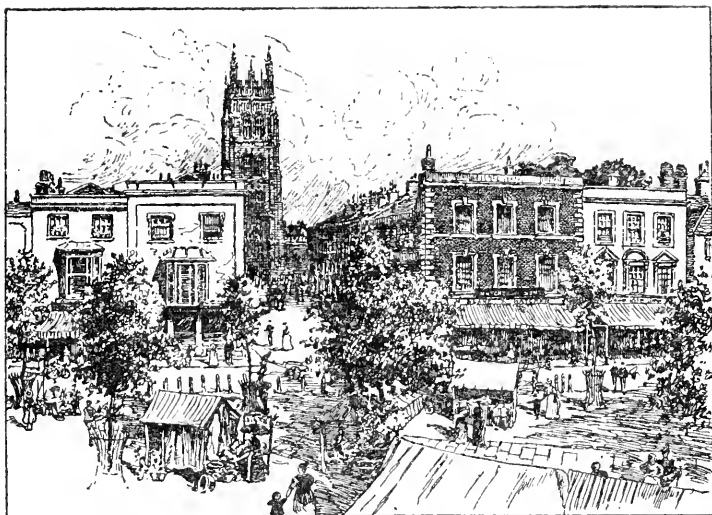
University at Dublin (I think), and a Catholic College at Oxford, and asked me as a staunch English Churchman to use any influence I had with the Derby Government towards the first.

I replied that I could not undertake it, because though I considered that you had an indisputable claim upon grounds of public policy and equity, I could not take part in promoting anything not exclusively Church of England. You rejoined, thanking me for the kindness of my letter, and then went on to say what has ever since dwelt on my mind and heart as proof of your great kindness—that you had often thought with regret of instances of harshness towards me when we were together at Oriel. My answer was that I had no recollection of anything of the kind, but that if there had been any such thing, I believed the account of it to be that you were in earnest and that then I was not. Upon this statement you will readily see that your letter of this morning came upon me with a painful surprise, and I said at once to my dear wife—who has continually heard me say of you as above: “What a curious mischance this is. I must write at once, and remove the impression ; I am sure I can do so.”

If I am successful, will you kindly tell me so?—it would much comfort me. All God’s blessings be with you.



OSSINGTON.



MARKET PLACE, TAUNTON.

1874

IN 1874, a Bill was brought in to the House of Lords by Archbishop Tait, known as the "Public Worship Regulation Act."

Throughout this year Archdeacon Denison worked incessantly, by letters, by speeches, and by meetings, to prevent the measure from being carried. It was very nearly lost, but was finally carried through by the Government, Mr Disraeli championing it as "an Act for putting down Ritualism." The Archdeacon, though not in the common acceptance of the term "a Ritualist," considered the Bill to be founded on a purely Erastian principle, and perceived that the attack was in reality against those doctrines of which the Ritual was the outward expression.

When the measure was passed he worked equally hard to neutralise its effects, attending for that purpose the Brighton Church Congress, and also a meeting at Oxford, which he had himself arranged with much labour and difficulty.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
JERUSALEM CHAMBER, WESTMINSTER,
28th April 1874.

Preliminaries just over. One banging false quantity,¹ Dean of Ely. Have left a letter² and 5063 signatures for Archbishop. Shook hands with him and London³ and Winchester⁴—men say it is the usual preliminary to a prize fight. Got to E.C.U. just as Council, a very large gathering, was breaking up; rather at sea, as Grueber told me. Wood asked me to stay for the Parliamentary Committee—about twelve of them. After a long talk, I got something into shape for them, which was unanimously adopted. We propose a great meeting in London.

After, at nine o'clock, I went to Gregory's, where I met Prevost, and we settled Resolutions.

In House of Lords you will see that a considerable stopper was put upon the Bill⁵ last night. I met Bishop of Salisbury⁶ in Dean's Yard. He said, "Don't you think me one of them. I think the Bill about as unfortunate as possible." I believe this opinion is fast gaining ground among public men.

I had a long talk with your father this morning. He had not read the Bill, but thinks that unless something can be done to bring about more uniformity, the Establishment must go.

I think he does not recognise the fact that the Establishment, as now administered, is a topsy-turvy thing—what was uppermost three hundred years ago being undermost

¹ At the opening of Convocation Litany, in Latin, is read. Archdeacon Denison used to say that he never could say his prayers, by reason of his looking out for the false quantity which was sure to occur, particularly if it was read by a Cambridge man.

² A memorial from priests, deacons, and lay communicants, in reference to new conditions in the licensing of Curates . . . "That to revoke the licence of a curate for an alleged offence in the parish church, instead of proceeding against the incumbent, is to invert the order of responsibility and a straining of power."

³ Right Rev. J. Jackson.

⁴ Right Rev. Harold Browne.

⁵ "Public Worship Regulation" Bill, introduced by Archbishop of Canterbury (Tait), 20th April 1874.

⁶ Right Rev. G. Moberley.

now—and that all we ask is that at least the position may be made even.

I am going to read my Gravamina, and to call attention to the matter of Privilege.

We shall then have the Address to the Crown, and I suppose after that we shall get to the Bill. But I don't know whether we shall reach it to-day. Now that second reading is postponed, the pressure of time is not so great, but it must not be delayed an hour beyond what is necessary.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
JERUSALEM CHAMBER, WESTMINSTER,
30th April 1874.

I have had more and more hearty compliments about my speech than I remember to have had before. Among others, from Dean of St Paul's,¹ and sundry other men of great weight and high character. They all say that I made no compromise, but was so gentle all through, making them laugh from time to time.

It is a great comfort to me to have stood fast, and yet to have offended no man, but have pleased many.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
JERUSALEM CHAMBER, WESTMINSTER,
1st May 1874.

House has ended as I expected, with a Resolution affirming some legislation, and asking for Committee. I have requested Prolocutor not to put my name on Committee. I will have nothing to do with the earliest initiation of what must end in persecution.

I am putting both speeches together in same pamphlet.²

¹ Very Rev. R. Church.

² "The Archbishop's Bill: Speeches of the Archdeacon of Taunton, with Prefatory Note and Amendment."—"The day of St Philip and St James, 1874, is a day which will henceforth be a memorable day in the history of the Church of England, memorable for the act done upon it—more memorable still for the consequences of that act.

"On that day the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury

And now as I have done with this matter—I never had, as you know, any great faith in this House, any more than in the Upper House—all seems to point the same way, and to my own withdrawal from all public share in it.

I am quite well, and hope to come down to-morrow by 4.15.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
JERUSALEM CHAMBER, WESTMINSTER,
7th May 1874.

After pulling all details of Bill to pieces on Monday, Tuesday and half Wednesday, Dean of St Paul's moved, and Compton seconded, condemnation of principle of Bill—*i.e.* of legislating as proposed at all. It was carried by 11 to 10 in Committee.

We are now upon Resolution to send up report as presented to Upper House. Allen is moving amendment that report be referred back to Committee, principally upon ground that it ought to be a majority of Communicants, and not any three Communicants, who may make representation. I felt we should necessarily get into details in such a matter, and have said that I quite agree with Allen. But I am satisfied that it is much better to pass the Resolution, and all I have said is to guard myself and others from being supposed to accept all details of reports of Committee, because I assent to a Resolution framed to cover it all.

The House seemed to accept this.

Resolution affirmed without division.

Thanks be to God.

committed itself to the principle of a one-sided and a persecuting policy. It did this by a vote, affirming (1) That legislation is necessary; (2) Praying for appointment of a Committee with a view to it; (3) Condemning provisions of Archbishop's Bill. Now, the one occasion of this vote was the introduction into the House of Lords of the Archbishop's Bill, devised, as all men know, for the 'stamping out' of 'Ritualism.' That is to say, for the stamping out the teaching of the Real Presence, not by language only, but by Symbolism, Ceremonial, Outward Reverence, Adoration, for this is what 'Ritualism' is. To be sure no one, friend or foe, supposes that it is going to be 'stamped' out by this or any other Bill. Nay, that it is not going to grow and increase more and more, because of all attempts to 'put it down.' But this does not improve the character of such attempts; it only marks their foolishness."

To Mrs G. Denison

HOUSE OF COMMONS,
VOTES PRINTING OFFICE, 25 PARLIAMENT STREET,
Tuesday, 5 o'clock P.M.

At work at four this morning till six, getting Petition into shape. Had Conference with R—— about first part of it, and received some excellent suggestions, which I embodied.

Meeting from eleven to four. Petition adopted *nem. con.*, with some verbal amendments, none of them to the worse, some to the better.

Some attempts made not to petition, but overcame them all; it stands, as provisionally adopted, for to-morrow's meeting. It has been a hard day's work, but I don't feel a whit the worse for it, and I am very thankful I came; for there would have been nothing really to get the meeting to agree to, if I had not been there.

To Mrs G. Denison

ENGLISH CHURCH UNION,
11 BURLEIGH STREET, STRAND,
21st May 1874.

Carried all the substance of Petition¹ at second meeting yesterday. I am now at work here all day long, and shall be to-morrow, getting it into circulation, and scraping up money for expenses.

Machinery and resources of English Church Union placed at my disposal. Committee postponed till June 4th.

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
27th May 1874.

The difficulty about any new law of liberty, as I have been pondering upon it, is, that it assumes or implies that existing law, as rightly understood, is against us. This, if not carefully guarded, would be very dangerous.

¹ Against "Public Worship Regulation" Bill.

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
28th May 1874.

Declaration agreed to yesterday—a great improvement upon that in *Guardian*; am going this morning to see about expediting issue.

My paper, in its substance, was adopted for Preamble, and a good many bits of Declaration are also mine; we were very unanimous. Expeditory work may keep me here a little longer, but you know I shall come to you the first moment I can. You see that York Convocation, by 23 to 14, has declined to express any gratitude to the Archbishop for the Bill.

I am quite well, and not at all tired, though it was a long and tough piece of work yesterday. I gave Grueber a dinner at club afterwards, with a pint of good Moselle, which he said was like scented soap.

Grueber and I have been with Mackonochie this afternoon. He seems to have made up his mind not to plead.¹ I never thought that remarkable document, the Royal Declaration, prefixed to the Articles, would have been of such service to us. All agree about its service, and our Declaration (which is an immense improvement upon that in *Guardian*) is based upon it.

When it was cited to the Archbishop at Lambeth, Tuesday 19th, he asked, "Where the paragraphs came from?"

How the Archbishops could introduce the Bill as they have done in the face of these paragraphs, and persist in it after both Convocations have formally disapproved of it, is difficult to understand.

It is a very good Parliamentary point, as all allow, and brings up the Constitutional position in a very distinct manner.

¹ The *Martin v. Mackonochie* suit, May 1874, as to which the Rev. A. H. Mackonochie is said to have made up his mind not to plead, was the second prosecution of him in the Court of Arches. He did in the end plead.

*To the Marquis of Salisbury*¹

ALL SAINTS', MARGARET STREET,
30th May 1874.

I see I should have written last night to Hatfield House. Now please let me say :

We are, as set out in Declaration enclosed, agreed to by "higher" and "lower Ritualists" alike, ready to obey the law of "this Church and Realm," and such a profession of readiness, coming not only from moderate, but also from those called "extreme" men, is a thing of no small moment.

Now what is that law? It is confessedly very doubtful; and the Constitutional way of ascertaining what it is has not been taken, in order to placing the whole matter fairly before Parliament, and to proceeding to any Legislation which may appear to be required upon its true basis.

Is it too much for Clergy, having so much at stake of things spiritual and temporal, to ask that, meantime, they should not be called upon to accept under heavy penalties a very doubtful interpretation of the Law?

The relative position of Bishops and Priests abroad in this matter, both the Civil and the Ecclesiastical position, is very different from our own. There, there is no Establishment with all its property rights; there the law is not disputed, nor is its administration subjected to the disturbing influences which operate so powerfully here.

I am hoping still against hope. I believe there is *a* way—the way—out of all this trouble and imminent danger. I believe that if Parliament will only give us time for that way to be freely taken, the trouble and the danger will disappear.

But the present position, and what we are threatened with, is more than dangerous. It would dispose, if carried to its Parliamentary issue *now*, of all hope of peace.

God help us all and guide us in His Mercy.

¹ This letter was written in answer to one from Lord Salisbury, in which he said he had read Archdeacon Denison's paper with interest, but did not think it recognised the real difficulty of the case—the anomalous independence of the English Clergy. In foreign Churches clergy were subject to their bishops: in Protestant Communities to their flocks; while the English Incumbent accidentally found himself in a position in which he could defy both bishop and flock.

To the Rev. Canon Liddon

EAST BRENT, 5th June 1874.

A day of more jubilant exultation over the unhappy Church of England, in chorus by Rome, Dissent and Infidelity, has, I suppose, never been than the day, 5th June 1874 A.D., after debate in House of Lords, 4th June.

Nor has a bigger nail at any time, or by any hand, been driven into the coffin of "the Act of Parliament Church."

The worst is that the Church's own people have had a good deal to do with driving the nail.

The Declaration of the "three Deans" specified "points of Ritual." Parliament lays hold of this adroitly, and is about (see speech of Lord Chancellor¹) to define by Statute, without any reference to the Synod, what is and what is not admissible Ritual in Church of England, and the price of admission is to be licence not to use Athanasian Creed.

I could not have believed that I should live to see the poor Church of England sunk so utterly low.

Nobody knows what the law of Ritual is; and Parliament is going to enact it "*jure suo*," as assisted by the Declaration—a document having nothing but individual authority, but which specifies "the position" as the one necessary thing, and then puts in a feeble claim for something else not specified.

Altogether I can remember no day of my life in which I have seen things look so dark *ab intra* and *ab extra*.

To the Bishop of Peterborough²

EAST BRENT, 7th June 1874.

I humbly pray you to read what I here write.

I pass by the bringing in of this Bill without consultation of Clergy in Convocation. I pass by the pressing the Bill forward against the advice of Clergy in Convocation.

These are evil things, but I want to come to what is specially connected with your name and office.

¹ Lord Chelmsford.² Right Rev. F. Jeune.

For the general question of your amendments,¹ I say that to propose to deal with the obligations of the Rubrics of the Prayer Book by Statute without reference to Convocation is to contravene the constitutional position, rights, and function of Convocation.

For the particular matter of the use of Hymns in Divine Service, I have to say that a distinct pledge was given to myself by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the late Bishop of Winchester, on the part of the Episcopate, when the two Houses came together for consideration of the shortened Services matter, that there should be no interference with the present liberty of Incumbents of Churches in the particular of Hymns, and that it was upon this understanding that opposition was withdrawn.

I have no right to assume that you share in the responsibility of the proposal about the use of the Athanasian Creed tacked on to your amendments by the Lord Chancellor.²

But the whole position is so filled with distress and fear, that I cannot help making an attempt to ask you to reconsider it.

Surely it cannot be wished to hold up the Church of England "naked to her shame among her enemies," as being after all only "an Act of Parliament Church."

*To the Bishop of Lincoln*³

EAST BRENT, 8th June 1874.

I was writing to C. Wood about the extreme gravity of the Constitutional position, as created by Bishop of Peterboro's amendments and Lord Chancellor's suggestion, when

¹ Amendments—for a neutral zone of Observances.

1. The North side question.

2. The use of words of administration to each communicant separately.

3. Use of Hymns in Worship.

4. Evening Communion.

5. Preaching of afternoon or evening sermons.

6. Compulsory use of daily Prayer.

7. Use of Communion Service.

² The Lord Chancellor's suggestion was to make permission for disuse of Athanasian Creed part of the "Public Worship Regulation Act."

³ Right Rev. Christopher Wordsworth.

your letter came in almost the same words that I was using, some of them the very same. Thank you much for it.

I had written in same sense to the Bishop of Peterboro' yesterday. It seems to me that the best thing I can do in this great strait is to convene promptly the Committee on Privileges, and I am doing this for Tuesday, 16th, at 11 A.M., in Jerusalem Chamber. Would it be possible to have you with us to consider of our course? It is a great strait, and there are many adversaries. I will carefully consider what you have sent me meantime, for though the business of Committee on Privileges is with the Constitutional part of the question, the other can hardly be not brought under consideration at the same time.

A worse and more dangerously complicated position it would be hard to conceive, and it will want the best energies and prudence of us all to meet it.

But I confess that the Bishop's amendments have so prejudged the constitutional question that I do not see my way out of the difficulty which he has created.

If Parliament enact his amendments, or any of them, we are, *ipso facto*, an "Act of Parliament Church." A subsequent reference to Convocation will hardly help the case in any reality, though it may do so partially and in outward appearance.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT,
HIGHERIDGE, 8th June 1874.

I was writing this letter when a letter came to me from Bishop of Lincoln respecting—

1. The Constitutional position.
2. The revision of Rubrics by the Convocations.

I have also heard from Liddon this morning.

I am summoning Committee on Privileges for Tuesday, 16th.

The Peterborough amendments and the suggestion of the Lord Chancellor have made a vital change in the character of the Bill and in the aspect of the conflict, bringing to the front the constitutional question whether Parliament may, *de jure*, alter or modify the obligation of Rubrics without reference to Convocation. If it may, what is Convocation for?

The question before us is, in a word, Are we an "Act of Parliament Church" only, or are we not?

I suppose it has now become necessary to bring this matter to the front, as underlying all our proceedings, at the meeting of 16th. It is obviously absurd to call upon Convocation to set to work for us, if Parliament has taken the bread out of its mouth, and the work out of its hands.

It is also to be borne in mind that the amendments and suggestion come upon us wholly by surprise, having been engrafted upon the "Public Worship Regulation" Bill, introduced for a wholly different purpose.

To the Earl of Carnarvon

EAST BRENT, 9th June 1874.

In writing to a Bishop not long ago upon this very miserable Bill—miserable in all its aspects—I said that I hoped that it might not break friendships, but that it was not possible it should not destroy sympathies.

If Government accept the Peterboro' amendments, or any of them, if, again, the Lord Chancellor's suggestion, making permissive disuse of the Athanasian Creed part of the Bill, is adopted, then—

What Government will have done is just this—they will have made a new law of Ritual and worship, a law doing away with the present obligatory character of Rubrics, without reference to Convocation. That is to say, we shall have become simply an "Act of Parliament Church."

If Government think that this issue is not hailed with shouts of triumph by Roman Catholic, Dissenter, Infidel, Government is much mistaken. It is a little too much to saddle such an issue as this upon "Ritualistic excesses."

It is this issue that I had before me when I wrote the words, "Erastian bog." I think they describe it exactly.

I have said nothing about the palpable, and indeed absurd, inequality of proposing to allow one point of Ritual—viz., that of Eastward position—a point of ascertained impossibility to refuse—and half a dozen or more licences to the other side, to disobey the undisputed law of the Church.

If this is justice and equity, I don't know what words mean,

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
16th June 1874.

Amendments all withdrawn. Bill will probably pass House of Lords. I don't think many men know what will happen to it in House of Commons. But there is so absolutely nothing to be gained by passing it, and so much to be lost by passing it, that it seems not unlikely that it may come to grief when out of the Episcopal atmosphere of House of Lords.

Bishop of Peterborough made a bad speech in withdrawing his amendment; he has certainly not improved his position, either as a Churchman or as a Statesman.

My resolutions have, of course, become unnecessary, and I am going to move a vote of thanks to Chair, which will give me the opportunity of saying what I want. I shall be very quiet, and not assail Bishops.

It is curious to hear Robert¹ say this morning, that on two points upon which the two Archbishops have just delivered themselves as legal authorities (not in connection with this Bill), he shall have to decide against them in Court in a day or two.

I have seen two letters from Gladstone very strong against the Bill, and proposing to do all he can to overthrow it; also to same effect from Dean of Chichester.²

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
17th June 1874.

A wonderful meeting;³ one of the finest speeches from Liddon I ever heard; an excellent paper from Pusey.

I was received, as I went on to the platform, with shouts and handkerchief waving for many minutes. I did not speak till twelve o'clock nearly, and then was purposely short.

¹ Right Hon. Sir R. Phillimore.

² Very Rev. Walter Hook.

³ Meeting held at St James' Hall, on occasion of the Anniversary of the English Church Union, 15th June 1874, to protest against the passing of the "Public Worship Regulation Act."

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 27th June 1874.

Let me try to put before you my sense of the position and of its danger.

I. Two proposals are before us respecting reference to Synod. One, the "*pro hac vice*" proposal of the Archbishop; the other, the general proposal of Bishop of London, things, I need not say, wholly different.

The first is a thing carried into effect. The second is remote, and, if ever carried into effect, in essential particulars stultifying itself, and, as such, of no value.

What we have to deal with is the "*pro hac vice*" proposal. This is to Convocation as it is.

The Archbishop sees great advantage to his cause, as well as encouragement to the passing of his Bill, in this reference.

But, as over-crafty men do, he has unwarily shown his hand. He says (*N.B.*) late letters of Business had small results. But if Bill passes, and Convocation is brought face to face with an Act for the enforcing of a general rule of discipline, Convocation will see the necessity of a different method of dealing with Rubrics—that is to say, a wider and a looser method. He is plainly speaking in the sense of the Peterborough, Stanhope, and Oranmore amendments.

Indeed if he were not, it would be hard to find a reason for the renewed reference at all; for Convocation, so far as Lower House is concerned, has considered the Rubrics, and concluded such revision of them as it cared to make. No doubt, under the special circumstances of the time, it might reasonably be asked to return to consideration of Ornaments Rubric and Ceremonial generally. But this is not what is asked, nor would it suit the Archbishop.

II. It is impossible to be blind, I should think, to the danger of proceeding, even in this limited way, to deal with the matter in Convocation as it is.

Because—(1) of those who attend, a good many will take the Archbishop's view.

(2) Of those who do not attend, but will attend upon pressure from Lambeth, a great majority will take the Archbishop's view.

The conclusion is that there is much danger in committing the matter to Convocation as it is.

And that our first point should be the necessity, upon all grounds of reason, equity, and even common policy, of an amended representation of parochial Clergy. It is also a special ground to us that it is in the parochial Clergy mainly that soundness is found.

III. I don't like wording of printed form of Petition to Convocation. It should surely have been "general assent of their congregations," not "assent." Is it meant that the "three parishioners" are to bar the way? It reads so. The other form to House of Commons seems just what is wanted. I have set it going this morning.

Whether Bill pass or not, the case as respects Convocation is the same.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 14th July 1874.

I think I shall be inhibited about my 71st birthday, 11th December 1875, if I live so long, or very possibly before it.

I thought Disraeli would run false. But it does not seem clear that he means passing the Bill, but saving himself with the Queen and his Protestants. Let me know what you think.

After all, you know, the danger is not in Parliament but in Convocation, and especially in Upper House. I am not without fears of Lower House, even as it meets now, and if pressure from Lambeth and other places Episcopal is put upon Deans and Archdeacons who do not commonly attend, the position will be one of very great danger, and the House will probably go wrong.

17th July 1874.

Our hope is, under God, that what has passed may make wavering men steady.

I know nothing so morally sickening as the sight of a great religious question made an instrument of party triumph.

I suppose Gladstone's Resolutions¹ are a political blunder; and it is to me difficult to reconcile a good deal of his antecedents in power with the line he is now taking. I refer especially to his course upon the University and School questions.

But I am thankful to see his course now, political blunder or not. Disraeli is the lowest type of political adventurer. But I should have thought that such statesmanship as he has would have been enough to have pre-

¹ In the course of his speech Mr Gladstone proposed the following Resolutions :—

1. That in proceeding to consider the Provisions of the Bill for the Regulating of Public Worship, this House cannot do otherwise than take into view the lapse of more than two centuries since the enactment of the present Rubrics of the Common Prayer Book of the Church of England; the multitude of particulars embraced in the conduct of Divine Service under their provisions; the doubts occasionally attaching to their interpretation, and the number of points they are thought to leave undecided; the diversity of local customs which under these circumstances have long prevailed; and the unreasonableness of proscribing all varieties of opinion and usage among the many thousands of Congregations of the Church distributed throughout the land.

2. That this House is therefore reluctant to place in the hands of every single Bishop, on the motion of two or three persons, howsoever defined, greatly increased facilities towards procuring an absolute ruling of many points hitherto left open and reasonably allowing of diversity, and thereby towards the establishment of an inflexible rule of uniformity throughout the land, to the prejudice in matters indifferent, of the liberty now practically existing.

3. That the House willingly acknowledges the great and exemplary devotion of the Clergy in general to their sacred calling, but is not on that account the less disposed to guard against the indiscretion, or thirst for power, or other fault of individuals.

4. That the House is therefore willing to lend its best assistance to any measure recommended by adequate authority, with a view to provide more effectual securities against any neglect of, or departure from, strict law, which may give evidence of a design to alter, without the consent of the nation, the spirit or substance of the Established Religion.

5. That in the opinion of the House, it is also to be desired that the Members of the Church having a legitimate interest in her services should receive ample protection against precipitate and arbitrary changes of established Custom by the sole will of the Clergyman and against the wishes locally prevalent among them; and that such protection does not appear to be afforded by the provisions of the Bill now before the House.

6. That the House attaches a high value to the concurrence of Her Majesty's Government with the Ecclesiastical Authorities in the initiative of legislation affecting the Established Church.

These resolutions were placed upon the table of the House.—

“Hansard's Parliamentary Debates,” vol. 220.

vented him from indulging so largely in what can be, after all, only a very temporary triumph and what must end in prostration.

I quite think that when November comes we must come together for the fullest and most careful consideration of the whole position.

To Mrs G. Denison

ST PAUL'S CHAPTER HOUSE,
28th July 1874.

We have been discussing preliminary matter about an hour, and have not yet got to our business. I see, as I expected, difficulties multiply and enlarge themselves, and I cannot regret it. It has been represented that my Amendment does not cover all the ground, and I have gladly seized the opportunity to withdraw it. It is my one contribution to anything like an indifferent use, and has caused me great misgivings since I proposed it, lest I should be helping to break down the Common Law of the Church in attempting to modify a part of its Statute Law which is confessedly very ambiguously expressed. Having shaken myself free of my difficulty in this particular, I shall, please God, take good care not to get into any like difficulty. I am trying to get before the Committee the simple facts of the case as between the two great parties in Church of England—as the only possible way of doing equal justice under the circumstances of the mixed position engrafted upon us by the Reformation.

To Mrs G. Denison

ST PAUL'S CHAPTER HOUSE,
29th July 1874.

I have just been making the biggest effort I could make to get Committee to run true. I can see that it has told upon many, but I think I shall not succeed. Twenty present again to-day; the absent men are losing us all. It is too bad. Canon Conway¹ came up to me this morning and grasped my hand warmly, and said

¹ Canon of Westminster.

kindest words, showing unmistakably that, however at issue with me, he gave me full credit for striving straightly for what I believe to be the honour and glory of God and His Church. I am thankful to say that in the midst of all the deep earnestness of debate, which increases every moment that we go on, there is not only no harsh word, but every kindly and loving word.

But all this perhaps only intensifies the sorrow with which the mind is compelled to look forward to a probable Anti-Catholic issue of the work of the Committee.

Important amendments in the House of Commons last night. I see your dear father said that he thought that one of them might peril the Bill.

To Mrs G. Denison

ST PAUL'S CHURCHYARD,
30th July 1874.

I see, as Committee goes on from day to day, more reason to give up hope of adjustment between claims of Civil Power and of the Church, and of claims amongst different sections of the Church.

I believe there is nothing left for us but to go home and bide and work at home, and take what God sends us, whether it is weal or tribulation. Perhaps, in the true sense, Tribulation is the truest weal. I propose to attend all future meetings of Committee and of the House in this matter ; but, as I expected, High Churchmen are not going to stand fast. There will be attempts at Compromise, but it will be an utter failure—just as any attempt to compromise between “High” and “Low” Doctrine of the Sacrament.

Mess in Committee keeps increasing, meddle, muddle, muddle, meddle, peddle, puddle.

Five of the clock, 30th July 1874.

I don't think I ever sat through a day of such extravagant foolishness as to-day.

All about linen, silk taffeta, alpaca, silk, satin, surplice, long or short, cope, etc., etc. I am almost sick, and can't take the trouble to hold up my hand either way.

As I came, I passed some Marionettes ; I wish I had

stayed and looked ; it would have been more amusing and less ridiculous.

And this is the Committee which has shirked the question of doctrine which underlies all.

Oh dear ! I have given them my mind very plainly. I think they are getting a good deal ashamed of themselves. It is getting more absurd every minute.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 4th August 1874.

An ex-Divorce Court Judge¹ is a fitting administrator of the Bill.

Six days of our Committee have produced only one good result, *i.e.* the unanimous rejection of the proposal of the Upper House to tamper with the law of Matins and Evensong.

For Position of Celebrant, the Rubric of Committee would have done well, if it had not been for a proviso and a rider tacked to it. The proviso is un-Catholic, the rider is foolish.

For Ornaments Rubric.—First, the principle upon which it has been dealt with is wholly wrong. Second, for Ornaments of Minister, which has been taken first, out of its place, the proposed Rubric is simply wretched.

The case is throughout, so far, so bad in Committee, that I have not been able to avoid entering protest at this stage. It is being printed for private use, and you shall have a copy.

We meet again 17th November, when all will have to come under reconsideration, and when we shall have to go into Ornaments of Church.

Now then, what can be done to recall Committee to something straight ? The only thing that occurs to me is this—I want you to consider it, and, if you agree, to do what you can to forward it :

Between this and 17th November, and near that time, let as many Clergy and Laity as can be got to do it, write privately to Chairman and Members of Committee, praying them on no account to meddle with Ornaments Rubric, but

¹ Lord Penzance.

to be content with declaring that compliance with it should on the one hand be not interfered with, and on the other not be insisted upon. I think that if this plan of a flood of private letters were taken in hand throughout the country, simultaneously and vigorously, by Laity even more than Clergy, it would tell powerfully upon Committee—much more powerfully than any public representations with names attached. If it does not succeed wholly, it may probably prevent further mischief—and the crisis is so grave that nothing should be left undone.

This is my little train for blowing up Committee. Now let us all get ready to light it.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 13th August 1874.

I will be no party to even so much alteration of Ornaments Rubric as putting “may” for “shall.” What I have to say is summed up in my protest in Committee, of which you shall have a copy in a few days. As for the other proposal—that “Courts of Law shall say what it really means, and let us obey”—I will have none of it. My reasons for this are also summed up in Protest.

The particular evil Spirit who has it in charge to corrupt and, in the end, destroy the Church of England is Cosmophilus, the Compromise Spirit. He writes all the leaders in the *Guardian*, and has done so many years. He writes also a good deal in the *Times*.

I don't know what to say about Brighton Congress. Congresses muddle all things, and fix and clear none. Cosmophilus will be there with a great following.

Moreover, I am next week proposing to begin daily Celebration, and have given notice of it. I am single-handed, having no priest to assist me except occasionally, and shall therefore be more than ever tied to home day by day unless upon calls of necessity. When I am inhibited, as I shall most probably be before the close of 1875, if I live so long, I shall be more at leisure.

I am thinking about trying to get some men together from these parts of England next month here, to talk over the position and see whether it may not be possible to arrive at some common rule of gathering round our common centre.

The weakness of the Catholic body is its disintegration. A common centre we have, but no rule of gathering round it. Could you come?

I part, not pleasantly, with the hope of coming to you with my dear wife—but you see how my case stands. I shall be thankful if I am permitted to have one year of Daily Celebration before I cease to minister to the souls of my people.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 15th August 1874.

Letters received by Orby Shipley from Pusey, Liddon, Bright, Nelson, Church, and sent to me by Grueber this morning, confirm me in my belief—

1. That men will not come together to consider anything, though they keep writing at same moment, to beg that all be carefully considered.
2. That if they did come together, they would not agree.
3. That if they did agree, their following, if any, would be small.

It seems plain to me that every one of us who fights at all (and I doubt these being found to be many) will have to fight, as now, for his own hand—a state of things giving incalculable advantages to the enemy. They, at least, are at one, and have made up their minds fully. We are all at sea—some insisting upon this thing, some on that, many insisting upon nothing, others applying their minds to see how much may be surrendered.

I cannot imagine anything more hopeless. Pusey is pleasing himself with the idea that the fury of the storm has spent itself: no greater delusion ever occupied any mind. It is gathering fury fast.

I think Brighton in Congress week the worst place and time for a Consultation. You want several days in a perfectly still and quiet place, with all means of reference at hand, and with nothing to fidget and distract you; and with your mind and your time wholly given to the work. Of all places that can be named, I think Oxford best answers to this description. It would be far better than London.

I pray you to consider all this well.

To a Friend

EAST BRENT, 18th August 1874.

I believe that Religion lies quite as much in denying oneself things in themselves not innocent only but helpful, as in laying hold of every opportunity which supplies them to us in a position which is not our natural position in the order of God's Providence, but an exceptional position.

Such, *e.g.*, a position as your letter describes. It is, I think, more the way of safety, the way of refuge from self-confidence, and the way of not placing oneself, under exceptional circumstances of life, in antagonism to others.

I have, God be thanked, this week begun Daily Celebration. Now, as illustrating my meaning above, I should not allow any fear of producing antagonism to interfere with the full use of this privilege offered to me and all others in this place, whether regular or occasional residents in it. But I should not myself, if I were living out of England, make a practice of worshipping in a Roman Catholic Church. I do not understand worshipping where I cannot receive if I desire to receive. I know many of us would not agree with me here, but I am bound to answer to your question as completely as I can. To kneel in a Roman Catholic Church and pray that in God's own time the time of Unity may come, is another thing. I have nothing to say against this ; but never forget this, that the difference between the Churches (I put the Establishment on one side—it is only a corrupt phase of the Church of England) is either a real difference or it is nothing. I do not believe the real difference to lie in the Doctrine of the Sacraments, but I do believe there to be a real difference in more great points than one.

The temptations to become Roman Catholics multiply, and are very subtle. Our unhappy position in respect of the Civil Power, and the Ecclesiastical adjuncts of it, keeps supplying them ; our trial is to be faithful still.

To the Rev. Canon Liddon

EAST BRENT, 18th August 1874.

I wrote yesterday to Pusey, and asked him to send you the letter. Some things occur to me this morning which I wish to add to it. Will you please send him this letter ?

My misgiving about action of our Committee arose out of two things—primarily and principally out of the first of them.

1. The Committee not only shrank from, but repudiated the fact of the necessary connection between Doctrine and Ritual, *i.e.*, they refused to look at Doctrine as underlying, and went into Ritual as a thing apart and by itself.

The unreality of this presented itself so strongly, not to myself only, but to Miller, Conway and Selwyn, from the opposite point of view to my own, that we found ourselves voting together against the great majority. And all three expressed to me afterwards in private their deep sense of the unreality of the position of the Committee.

2. In considering Ritual as a thing apart and by itself, the Committee refused to make preliminary enquiry into which those ornaments of the Church and the Minister are which are intended by the Rubric. The issue has been that the same Committee, which refused to go into a principle and a fact, employed itself many hours in discussing such details as materials, shape, colour of ornaments of Minister. And I believe that Ornaments of Church will next be dealt with after a like manner.

I am filled with fear that if we do not take concerted and vigorous action, we shall not only lose the Ornaments Rubric, which we may not improbably do even after such action taken, but that we shall deserve to lose it.

At present we have one thing ; we lack another.

We have in Ornaments Rubric a common centre ; we lack a general rule and order as to what those things appear to be, which the letter and the spirit of the Ornaments Rubric require of us, to stand fast by in the present distress.

Surely we ought to attempt to frame such rule and order, whether we may hope to procure upon our advice its general adoption or not. But however this point may be regarded, there can, I think, be no doubt with us that we ought to meet to see what may best be done to save Ornaments Rubric.

This seems to me under all aspects the first point, and to be kept steadily in view throughout ; otherwise we shall be in danger of losing sight of principle in discussing details.

Ornaments Rubric is the chief outwork of, and the key to, our position. I shrink from the contemplation of the loss of any part of it.

I want a representative gathering at Oxford—it is far preferable to London ; for time, I should say shortly after Brighton Congress. Brighton in Congress week I think the worst place and time.

I told Orby Shipley that I thought his proposal of moving for alternative use of 1st Book would find no favour with Authorities, Ecclesiastical or Civil, but that upon the necessity of a consultative gathering, I was wholly with him.

To the Rev. Canon Liddon

EAST BRENT, 25th August 1874.

As I ask for private representative Conference at Oxford, 13th October, I wish to say to you what should, as it seems to me, be the main subjects of it.

First, I dismiss the notion that we are going to get Ritualists, advanced and non-advanced, to unite upon details.

But short of this, there is, I believe, a common platform upon which all could unite and present a front which all sections would in common accept, and the acceptance of which would be of infinite strength and service in the present distress.

1. Keeping the Prayer Book as it is.

2. The Relations of the Church to the Courts.

The adversary has done us great service in simplifying the general issue ; and it is, I believe, our wisdom to confine ourselves to that issue, at least for the present.

For the second point—whether men are unable to accept the jurisdiction and the manner of its administration, so as to allow them to plead, or whether they are content to accept one or both under protest—we should all, I believe, so far be of one mind that neither one or the other is what it ought to be, and be prepared to say so.

Here, then, is a common platform to be taken by all advanced or not advanced, under a new aspect of the position as created under “the Bill,” and at a time when Convocation is deliberating how the new position is to be met, and is in great danger of going wrong. We owe it to Convocation to do what may be done to steady and support the right conclusion.

These are the points, then, to which I should desire to

ask the assent of the proposed meeting at Oxford. I know well that they will appear small things to many, but, driven into a corner as we are, they are really the great points of the whole case, and the only points upon which we can look for anything like a common concurrence.

I shall be thankful to know what you think.

*To Lady Phillimore*¹

26th August 1874.

Don't trouble your dear self more about me than you can help. I am doing what is, I believe, my plain duty, and the best thing I can do in the present distress. It is no tax upon my strength. Work in Church does not tire me at all, and it is of comfort inexpressible; all visiting and out work is done for me. Meantime the quieter life is (leaving out the loss of seeing less of those one loves best), the better it suits me. I have had so many and so great blessings in life that I cannot count or measure them. There is trouble now and before us, but it is nothing new, though it may be great. At no time has there been deeper or truer comfort.

To the Rev. Canon Liddon

EAST BRENT, 30th August 1874.

If I was vexed, I ought not to have been vexed, and you will forgive me readily.

But I do not suppose that I can convey to you what the weight of my position is upon me in a Committee of twenty-eight men, having to fight the Ritualist battle in its reality, almost single-handed. For, except your Dean, I hardly know upon whom—at least among the twenty present in July—I can count in respect of keeping the Ornaments Rubric truly intact. And in my almost solitary distress, I look for the only help I can look for from man, to those who are outside the Committee and outside Convocation. There are many such, very many,

¹ His youngest sister, to whom all the letters to Lady Phillimore are written.

Clergy and Laity, and they are waiting for a sign from those to whom they naturally look to direct them.

And the time is short; we meet again in Committee 17th November, and it is probable that the lines of the Report will then be pretty much settled.

I don't see how anything can be done without a representative Conference, such as I have proposed for the first available day after Brighton Congress week. I have no mind to, or confidence in conference for deliberation at Brighton in Congress week; the hurry and confusion, and lack of quiet, are against any such attempt.

But the first available day after it, I still hope we shall be found in conference. Even if after discussion we should generally be of opinion that it is best, at least at this juncture, to confine ourselves, and incite others to join in what you have sketched at end of your letter, I think a very great deal will have been gained by our assembling to confer. It will give that substance and concentration of purpose and guidance which are so greatly needed at this juncture.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, VI. Kal. *September* 1874.

G.A.D. C.L.W. S.P.D.

Trepidant Oxonienses, incertum et timidum pecus. De eventu certior fies quam celeriter.

Interea magis magisque expedit neminem nostrorum Congressui apud Clarum Oppidum deesse.—Vale.

7th September 1874.

Pusey¹ is like a man who has lit a fire, and is surprised and vexed because it does not confine itself to the bottom of the grate.

I have never known a more damaging mistake than Liddon and Pusey have made, in shrinking from a gathering of all shades of us, by way of representing all shades.

¹ Dr Pusey's reasons will be found in his "Life," vol. iv. p. 278.

To Mrs G. Denison

DIDCOT, 8th September 1874.

Three quarters of an hour to wait here.

Have been pondering over position, and find it as before, not a little difficult. God guide us all. If Pusey's letter this morning correctly represents Bright's mind, I do not see that much will be done beyond some general declaration of adherence to the Prayer Book as it is. This, as you know, is what I have always looked to, and I am satisfied it is worth a meeting.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 16th September 1874.

Oxford animus is not of the stoutest. I do not at all regret having got the Oxford meeting,¹ but every day's correspondence since I went to Oxford to settle it disposes me to think that it may be very wise to fortify the minds of those who attend it by previous free discussion at Brighton.

Whether it will be found possible or desirable to prevent conclusions being come to at Brighton, I cannot undertake to say under the conditions of the case as they have presented themselves to me in the last few days. Of one thing I am certain :

That we must claim Position, Vestments, Mixed Chalice, Altar Lights, Incense—making no selection and giving no preference among the five—as the substance of Ritual—Ritual being only valuable as expressing Doctrine—and that we must claim the free use of these things on the ground, among other grounds, that the denial of them is a grievance to Conscience.

Anything short of this I call trifling and unworthy of the matter in hand, of ourselves and of the Church.

¹ See letters of 16th and 26th October.

To Mrs G. Denison

BELVEDERE,
BRIGHTON, 8th October 1874.

A good day on the whole yesterday.

Went to Congress at 2 P.M.¹—"The Convocations." Very offensive speeches, lay and clerical, and an immense row. When I got up, it was supposed that the storm would renew and increase its fury. But I was very well received, and managed to keep all the meeting quite still and pleasant. Bishop of Chichester, who had been quaking in his shoes, thanked me very warmly, and I was hugely complimented all round.

Then Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament at night—on the whole very good issue; "explication extreme-moment vive" between dear old Carter² and me: I was obliged to have it out.

The meeting clearly thought I was in the right, but pressed me so warmly and kindly not to refuse to go to Oxford, that I said I would go, which was received with expressions of content.

I must write to Bright and say I am coming.

To Mrs G. Denison

BELVEDERE, 9th October 1874.

A sad, stormy meeting at English Church Union last night, arising out of the hurry which, I have been afraid of all along, must attend attempts to do such business as ours, or any grave business requiring concentration of thought, and giving up of time in Congress week, and intensified, I am sorry to say, by more haste and excitement on my own part than is good, in any degree.

No doubt the whole arrangement of the business was bad, and dear Wood, who was in the Chair, feels this much.

No doubt, also, there was a great amount of special pleading, and something very like, if not quite, trickery on

¹ Church Congress held at Brighton.

² The Rev. T. T. Carter, Rector of Clewer, and Hon. Canon of Christ Church.

the part of the diplomatists. But I wish much I had been more still, and am going to say so at adjourned meeting to-day.

There came up to me Clergy and Laity after all was over last night, and thanked me for making the stand, and I regret nothing of what I did—only my way of doing it. Pray for me that I may be more gentle and patient and charitable.

I shall go and see the new Church to-day, and amuse myself till 2.30, when adjourned meeting is.

To Mrs G. Denison

BELVEDERE,
Saturday, 10th October 1874.

A happy and most comforting day yesterday. A larger adjourned meeting than even the night before. I said pretty much what I enclose,¹ was most lovingly welcomed.

The petition drawn by Committee unanimously accepted. Just what I wanted in a Petition had been put into it.

Afterwards I amended, and carried unanimously, with Carter's full consent, a Resolution proposed by him, and we separated in entire peace.

I had a very cordial letter from Bright last evening. Carter is to make provisions for me in Oxford, Wednesday evening.

Have been into Aquarium—wonderfully pretty place, and filled with strange things; also into S. Bartholomew's. It is a place where it is difficult to do anything but kneel and pray. As wide as the nave of York Minster; two feet higher than Westminster Abbey. Grand in its severe simplicity.

¹ Before I speak to the Motion, I desire, as briefly but as earnestly as I may, to express to my dear friend the Chairman, and to all my brethren, my sorrow for my undue haste and excitement last night.

Those of us who believe it to be their duty to surrender nothing whatsoever which is of the Substance of their Trust, at this crisis of the Church's history, are obliged to watch at every step, lest they commit themselves to anything which may so much as look like an indication of surrender.

But I feel deeply that unless this be done gently and patiently, the trial is failing in respect of one principal part of its proper work.

I am to preach to-morrow morning at St Paul's, and evening at St Michael's.

I have only been to Congress twice.

To Mrs G. Denison

THE COPPICE,
HENLEY ON THAMES,
16th October 1874.

My last letter—I am so glad.

Eight and a half hours' debate yesterday; issue on the whole as good as I could expect. No mischief done I think; a severe and steady fight.

As meeting went on I found that other minds were upon what my own had been all along—viz., some paper to be addressed to the People of England; and I moved and carried, *nem. con.*, at close of meeting, a Resolution appointing Committee for that purpose.

This morning I sat for some time with Pusey, and found that he entered warmly into the proposal.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 26th October 1874.

The issue of Oxford Meeting on 15th inst. was upon the whole good. But it took eight hours' debate to bring it to that point.

The Petition agreed to covers much that it does not express, as it is in harmony with our Brighton petition.

A principal object with me in suggesting this meeting had been "an address to the People," but finding the idea coldly received, I had abandoned it. At the Meeting, without communication from me, it came up by others, and was warmly received. Upon this I proposed and carried Resolution, *nem. con.*, for Committee to see about such address. Pusey accepted the proposal cordially, and Bright, since I left Oxford, writes in favour.

No doubt it will be difficult to draw, for it must be at once brief, deep, popular and not technical; but I hope to see all this overcome.

Courtenay also carried Resolution for Committee about

a Deputation to confer with Archbishops and Bishops, and it is at work.

I am in deep anxiety, for everything seems to me to be depending upon the attitude which the Committee shall eventually take; and if any man does not see that all that has passed since the Bill became law points directly to the utter folly of making any compromise—to say nothing of the unfaithfulness of it—I should feel it to be time lost to discuss the matter with him.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 30th October 1874.

I think the “foolishness” has been much more on the side of the Church Corporate, and those whose business it is to guide it, than on the part of any individual members of it. I say more: I say that it is the culpable neglect of the Church Corporate which has left room for what is now called the “foolishness” of members of it.

It was quite certain that revival of Doctrine would be followed by revival of Ceremonial.

If the Bishops had been fit for their office, they would have undertaken some provision for the regulation of Ceremonial—a thing confessedly obscure and difficult, having been left, after the manner of the Church of England during the last 300 years, in much doubt—before the storm raged, and popular ignorance and fury was enlisted on the side of popular Protestantism.

But they did nothing of the kind. They waited till the storm had burst, having employed themselves meantime in fanning its fury, and then urged it on by all means in their power.

I have never been able to understand the principle of selection among the several parts of the substance of Ritual. I think any brother has the same right to the use of incense as any other has to the use of Vestments or Position—possibly a greater right.

I cannot admit that Pusey's wish is to be taken as a rule in this matter. I think his policy, as I have told him, as great a mistake as can be. It is based upon this—that the adversary is content with some Ritual, but will not have all.

Now what the adversary avows openly is that they will

have no Ritual, because the concession of any establishes Doctrine, and it is Doctrine that they assail.

The wretched fallacy—that Ritual is not Doctrine, and Doctrine Ritual—has at last been exploded, even by Bishops.

And it is quite as red a rag to throw down the Position and the Vestments before a popular Protestant as to throw down all the six points.

The picking and choosing is only division to our small army, alienating the most earnest, or some of the most earnest, amongst us, and gaining absolutely nothing as against the foe.

If Pusey did not foresee how the fire would burn, he should not have lighted it. I am sadly obliged to say that I think his complaints about extreme men are not justifiable.

I should, of course, be very thankful for any real victory of the Church. But I cannot call a half and half victory a real victory. Nor do I believe that we are going to get either.

I have ceased to be able to do any active work about Petitions. But no doubt one will be put in hand in this Parish.

In truth I am so weary of the Establishment Position that I cannot do anything directly or indirectly for it. I am content to let it drift till it strike, as it will before long. There is nothing that I can see to redeem it.

The Ornaments Rubric never has been compulsory, and it would only be laughed at to say it shall not be.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 16th November 1874.

Dear Pusey has not quite done justice to the Basis of Conference which I sent him. All others to whom I have shewn it on our side have accepted it heartily as presenting the one prospect of some peace. The proposal for Conference itself is a thing which, especially as coming from the other side, is a gain so far, whatever may be the issue of it.

Pusey puts it in his answer as if I were unreasonable in proposing that we should keep everything and give up nothing.

If I had proposed this for our side only, the objection would not be easy to answer.

But I propose it alike for both sides.

The other side have their doctrines and their observances (or non-observances). Let all these be as they are. We could not interfere with them by law if we wished it, which we do not.

These things being so, and the existing ceremonial law being in most particulars, perhaps in all, plainly on our side—for it has not been ruled to be otherwise by any rightful or competent authority—we must seek our basis elsewhere than in giving up on either side, and I see no other than that which I have suggested.

I am anxious that you should have this to-day, as you are going to see Pusey and Liddon.

To Mrs Denison

DEANERY,
ST PAUL'S, 17th November 1874.

After two hours' debate, after counsel from Prolocutor supported by Archdeacon of London¹ and Canon Miller,² Committee divided 14 to 9 that we do not proceed and formulate any new Rubric upon Position and Vestments at present.

It is giving up, I am glad to say, all the meddling and muddling attempts to make new Rubrics; so far so good, but the rocks ahead are many and great. It has come, you see, not only from the Prolocutor, but from two men certainly not on our side.

Robert most highly approves of the idea of a Conference; Miller also most warmly. We are to have a talk about it after sitting is over to-day.

To Mrs G. Denison

DEANERY, 18th November 1874.

Have got rid, I believe finally, of the objectionable Proviso about "Breaking the Bread, etc., so as to be seen of the People," and have left the words of the old Rubric

¹ Right Rev. Piers Claughton, retired Bishop of Columbo.

² Vicar of Greenwich.

simply, "before the people." It is a surplusage, and had better not have been introduced at all in the note, but it was done to try to conciliate the other side.

Like all other things of the kind, it has, I believe, utterly failed of its object; because, as I told the Committee, and it was received with great acceptance, the whole question turns upon what is meant by "before." We say it means one thing, the other side that people are to see all that you do—things so wholly different. And as no process of language or anything else can make an agreement between people whose principles are opposite, I see every hour less chance of anything of consequence being done; so much the better.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

WATERPERRY,
OXFORD, 1st December 1874.

I have had a long letter from Bishop of Peterborough. I had written to him, telling him about Conference, and sending him a copy of the paper upon Ornaments Rubric, which I had tried to carry in Committee, but was beat by 13 to 9 in favour of a "Note." As for Notes, I have felt all he says against them from the first. I told the Committee that a Note either repeated the Rubric, or raised its requirements, which was unattainable if desirable, or lowered its requirements, which could not promote peace; also that it invited legislation. In a word, all the objections which lie against new Rubrics, lie against a Note.

What I want Committee to do is to abstain from any formulating, or quasi-formulating, and to give reasons and lay down lines for a comprehensive use and administration of existing Rubrics, having regard to non-enforcement, and neglect and disuse. I see no possible safety—because no possible good—for the Church in any other course, and at the next meeting of Committee shall press it again. In July, I don't think I had more than one with me. In November, I had eight, one of them saying to the Committee that he had differed from, but was now of the same mind with me.

Of course there will be a howl in Parliament, and, it may be, an attempt to make new Rubrics there; but I

don't think, even after our experience of last year, that it will succeed.

If they cannot make their way to Puritanise the Ceremonial law of the Church of England without cancelling or altering Rubrics, it is a plain confession that Rubrics, as they are, are on our side. I have been persuaded all along that our only safe, because our only faithful, policy is to hold fast that we have, and leave to God the rest.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 8th December 1874.

I doubt Parliament legislating upon Prayer Book against advice of Convocation. Does not Clause 6—"Interpretation Clause," Book of Common Prayer—present a great impediment in the way of such legislation in its concluding words, "lawful authority"? or is it going to be contended that lawful authority for altering the Prayer Book means now authority of Parliament only?

Perhaps it is no more strictly correct to say that the functions of Convocation are legislative, than to deny that they are judicial. Are not its functions properly preliminary to legislation?—Convocation being the Spiritual Council of the Crown, by advice of which legislative proceedings are either taken or not taken "*in rebus spiritualibus*"?

Convocation may doubtless suggest the precise words in which such legislation may run—which I think it had much better not do at this time—or it may give reasons and lay down lines by and within which any such legislation ought to be governed and regulated, if any.

I prefer the last—at least at this stage. It indicates the largest measure of caution in dealing with a matter so filled with most important issues, it gives time, it does not invite legislation.

I do not quite know what is meant by saying that the functions of Convocation are not judicial. It was originated by the Archbishop, and I see many adopting it.

But if Convocation is to go into the question of altering a Rubric, it must first judge of that Rubric what it means as it stands, otherwise how can it proceed at all? It is not going to be pretended, surely, that it must start from the last judgment of the Appeal Court?

To Mrs G. Denison

CHAPTER HOUSE,
ST PAUL'S, 16th December 1874.

Heavy snow this morning ; all warm and snug. I get here first to empty coal-scuttle on the fire ; then Dean sees it is empty and has it filled. A capital room and quite warm.

A good day's work yesterday. I got rid of all the stuff about "theological considerations," etc., and we have much better words in their room. To-day I go at the Proviso, and have good hopes of getting rid of it, or at least of undoing the mischief of it.

I spoke to Hopkins and Miller yesterday. They both, and especially Hopkins, lamented the decision against Conference, and Hopkins said he should still pursue it. But I don't believe he will effect anything.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 28th December 1874.

I believe it will take you by surprise, as it will many others, when I tell you that within the last few weeks doubt has risen in my mind spontaneously, *i.e.* without suggestion from any man, and in a manner startling to myself, whether, after all, supposing the legal worst to come to the worst, a Priest with cure of souls would be doing right, on the distinct ground of prohibition of certain ceremonial, however precious, by a court of Law, in refusing to obey the Law, and taking the legal consequences, "inhibition" and ultimate "deprivation." And I am drawing up a Paper, which I should be glad of an opportunity of submitting for consideration to a private gathering of Priests in like circumstances with myself.

For individual action, especially in such a matter, assuming it to be right throughout, is of comparatively small value.

If my conclusion—which is now that such Priest would not be justified in his refusal—be the true conclusion, in that case it appears to me that the rule is one of universal

application, and not variable according to local circumstances.

I am looking in the face all that will be said of me. I am not afraid of the charge of inconsistency, however just; I am not afraid of the imputation of unworthy motives, however natural. I am afraid of doing wrong. I have, I fear, prided myself upon my consistency and determination; my pride has got a very heavy fall.



CHURCH PORCH, EAST BRENT.

1875-1878

IN 1875, Convocation appointed a special Committee to consider the Rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer, which met in the Chapter House of St Paul's Cathedral. Archdeacon Denison sat on the Committee, and his letters show his great displeasure at its vacillations, as also at the tone of Convocation when the Report (of which he disapproved) was presented to it.

1876.—The first topic in this year was the decision of the Privy Council in the appeal from the Arches Court in the case of *Jenkins v. the Rev. Flavel Cook*. Mr Jenkins brought an action against the Rev. Flavel Cook, who had repelled him from the Holy Communion. Mr Cook's reason for so doing was the publication of a book by Mr Jenkins which impugned certain passages of Holy Scripture. The Dean of Arches (Sir R. Phillimore) pronounced for Mr Cook, but his judgment was reversed by the Privy

Council. The Archdeacon was greatly troubled about this matter, as appears by his letters to Canon Liddon, and also by the case of the Rev. A. Tooth, suspended by Lord Penzance's Court, and afterwards imprisoned for disobeying the order for his suspension.

This was another of the Ritual suits under the "Public Worship Regulation Act." Lord Penzance's Court being held to have no spiritual authority, the Clergy did not consider themselves bound by its Monitions. Many of the letters of this date refer to the action of the English Church Union in this matter, and in the similar one of Mr Ridsdale of St Peter's, Folkstone.

Convocation was occupied with questions of Confession and of the Burials Bill.

In these years the Archdeacon also employed himself in putting together some of his recollections under the title of "Notes of my Life," in which he gave a History of the Education question, and of his own Trial, as well as of much other interesting matter.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 3rd January 1875.

I cannot thank you enough for the trouble you have taken for me.

We are a little upon different tacks.

You are looking, as is natural, at the whole case in its actual and possible aspects.

I am not looking away from the whole case in all its aspects, but my attention is fixed upon arriving at a practical solution of a practical problem, which will have to be arrived at by a good many of us shortly, and the *pros* and *cons* of which I want well thought out beforehand; and so I am printing the paper with a view to convenience of private consideration and to conference amongst us.

I put aside aspects of the case which are not actual, and which I hardly believe to be possible—certainly not probable.

Such things, I mean, as Convocations going wrong, or Parliament legislating apart from, or contrary to, Convocations, in making new Rubrics.

And I deal only with the question of interpretation by Law Courts, and of what should be our action thereupon as Priests having benefice with cure of souls.

I want, so far as I can, to help to settle this upon a principle, and I do not see my way to your conclusion that one course may be good in one case, and another in another.

Now, then, having said so much as to difference, let me say that your comments have put me upon recasting the Paper, and endeavouring to make it as clear as I can.

I believe that I have made up my mind now to what I shall do if I am represented against under the Act. If I can satisfy myself—as I believe I can—that my ground, as now taken, is sound—being very different from what I stood upon two months ago—I think I am bound to put my conclusions, with their reasons, as plainly as I can put them before my brethren. The time for any publication is another question—but, as I have many times publicly affirmed the course I have now, upon reconsideration, rejected, I think I am bound not to withhold ultimately my reasons and present conclusions.

Upon all this, however, I shall be glad to take counsel in Conference. All I want to do at present is to clear my own mind thoroughly, and to do what I may to help to clear others' minds privately in this very difficult case.

It is a most serious thing to abandon one's People, and must not be done except where there is no room for avoiding it. I had not considered this sufficiently when I made my pronunciamientos last year. I know how much I have damaged any claim I might have had to advise. But still I must, I think, give my advice for what it is worth.

If Convocation were to advise it, or Parliament to do it, or both to concur in making an Act of Parliament Church of us, the whole question would become altogether a different one from what it is—one which would require to be met in a way wholly different. I know it may be said that such question has arisen already out of the fact of the Law Court putting aside the Common Law of Church of England in arriving at its Judgments.

But at any rate it remains to be seen what the New High Court will do.

I have felt for some time that there is much difficulty in rejecting authority of High Court arising out of the facts of history of Reformed Church and Constitution of Courts of Delegates. But I must not weary you with more.

To Mrs G. Denison.

CHAPTER HOUSE,
ST PAUL'S, 20th January 1875.

I opened the ball to-day with a Resolution which would have necessitated a new draft Report.¹ Beat by 10 to 5. Dean of Lincoln² moves that the position on all four sides of the Table be allowed; have spoken against it.

After all, it is curious, as has occurred to me in course of debate, and as has been privately allowed by many whom I have spoken to upon the arguments about "before the People," is more for the other side than for ours; "before the Table," means looking at the Table; and I am disposed to believe now that "before the People" means looking at the People.

It only shows how one lives to have one's eyes opened.

To Mrs G. Denison

CHAPTER HOUSE,
ST PAUL'S, 21st January 1875.

Committee a most uncertain minded body—all in favour of a thing one minute and against it another.

I am aweary of the whole thing. The Prolocutor vacillates terribly, and the Committee generally are pea-hearted and muddle-minded.

¹ This and the following letters dated from the Chapter House, St Paul's, refer to a Special Committee appointed to draft a report on the Rubrics to be submitted to Convocation.

² Dean Blakesley.

To Mrs G. Denison

CHAPTER HOUSE,
ST PAUL'S, 22nd January 1875.

I find that in my endeavour to help the Committee to frame a sentence against myself, which was carried, I helped to place them in a false position, and the first thing to be done this morning is to rescind, or at least substantially to alter it.

For "before" what I mean is this: In Rubric prefixed to Prayer of Consecration "Before" occurs twice.

1. "Before the Table." 2. "Before the People."

In 1 it is absolutely clear that it means, with the face of the Priest towards the Table.

The presumption is that it means the same in No. 2, it being not conceivable that the word should be used in two different senses in the same Rubric.

The Latin words, "*coram populo*," also mean face to face. My conclusion, therefore, is that our friends on the other side have a great deal more to say in favour of breaking "the bread before the people," meaning *in the sight* of the people, than I had supposed them to have. And, indeed, the longer I consider the subject of Ritual, the more I see that our opponents have, upon more grounds than one, a stronger position than we have, and my whole understanding and feeling upon the matter (save only upon the value and precious character of Catholic ceremonial) has undergone a considerable change.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

WATERPERRY,
OXFORD, 8th February 1875.

For the great public anxiety—I think you must see that as my argument is upon what I believe to be the true principle of action, it has nothing to do with what may be or may not be expedient, except in a secondary and subsidiary sense—I am not going to publish now. I only printed privately in order to gather opinions of wiser

and better men—which I could not have done without printing—and in deference to these I stay my hand, though I am not able to say that the reasons given me against publication now satisfy my mind.

Ponder the thing as I will, I come back to the same point. That it is not right to allow ourselves to be deprived, *i.e.* separated from those committed to our Cure and Charge because we are not allowed by the Civil Judicature to use in celebrating the Blessed Sacrament a certain Ceremonial—however precious upon all accounts that Ceremonial may be. Provided always that our liberty in setting forth and teaching the Doctrine of the Real Presence by all such means as remains to us, is in no manner interfered with.

I take my stand upon the right of the matter. If others can shew that the true principle of action is the other way—in other words, that we are bound to do in the case of prohibited Ceremonial what we are bound to do in the case of prohibited Doctrine—I am ready to meet them, and indeed have thrown down my challenge.

But I cannot argue the matter upon any grounds of expediency.

To Mrs G. Denison

CHAPTER HOUSE,
ST PAUL'S, 16th February 1875.

Your dear letter is such a comfort to me. Coming up yesterday, I altered, rearranged, and added to my objections—at same time taking out all that is not of substance. I have printed it and laid it before the Committee. It has been ruled that we are not to go again into the principles of the structure of the Report.

This being so, I have made my speech and have said my say, and am not troubling myself more than I can help with details. It is so hard now to get anybody to go upon a principle. I have told them that I am much more afraid of the effect of this Report than of anything the Courts can do. It will be said, "Et tu Brute!"

But it is a bad time. I think in respect of compromise-making we get worse daily, and more self-contradictory.

To Miss Lucy Phillimore

CHAPTER HOUSE,
ST PAUL'S, 16th February 1875.

Dearest Lu,
Thanks to you.
Here I fight
From morn to night,
And am beat
Most off my feet.
I think it's a pity
We have had Committee.
All along
We haven't been strong,
And now we are weak—
Tears fall from my cheek—
And I do my best,
By making protest
I shall be compelled,
As I have long held,
To express my dissent
From most that is meant
In this document—
As being a muddle
A mess and a puddle,
“I will” and “I won't”
It keeps saying—“Pray don't
Ask me to speak straight.
It would be checkmate
To all my endeavour
To take care that I never
Speak certainly out,

About what I'm about”—
No doubt all will laugh
And, as fast girls say, “chaff”
Committee and House—
“Is this all their *nous* ?
Poor people, poor clergy,
Poor English Liturgy !”
I am come to the end
Of my rhymes, and must send
My little lament
These troubles anent—
So no more at present
From your uncle who loves
The ground your foot moves
Upon, up and down
The lawn so well mown,
And shaven and shorn
In the earliest morn
By servants of Coppice—
Wherein my great hope is
That all may abound
And dance round and round
By day and by night
From darkness to light.
Thus much from Committee :
I think 'tis a pity
The report we rehearse
Should not fall into verse.

To Mrs G. Denison

CHAPTER HOUSE,
ST PAUL'S, 18th February 1875.

We are winding up Report, and though I cannot assent to it, I think it my duty to labour to make it as good as may be, and have suggested some principal things, which have been heartily accepted.

Dine to-day with Berdmore Compton.¹

The Vestry of St George's, Hanover Square, have settled for that Parish the question of interment and cremation as follows in a large sheet about matters parochial.

¹ Rev. B. Compton, Prebendary of St Paul's, then Vicar of All Saints, Margaret Street.

"The Vestry have contracted with the Scavengers for the dust and ashes of the inhabitants."

I have sent it anonymously to *Punch*, and have just told the Committee, to their infinite amusement.

To Mrs G. Denison

ST PAUL'S CHAPTER HOUSE,
9th April 1875.

Thirty hours' continuous cold rain; this morning, icy east wind cutting in two as we came out of Early Celebration and Matins.

Twenty-fifth day of Committee. Shall have nothing, I believe, ready for Tuesday next except our first Report.¹

I am told that Gladstone thinks the Report concedes a great deal, *i.e.* more than it ought. I quite think so.

I hear also that besides my reasons of dissent, which stand with my name only, there will be other dissenting reasons on the part of seven other Members of Committee.

Henry Jeffreys² is elected for Canterbury Diocese by, I am told, 129 to 107. He had, with true and open courage, put out publicly his advocacy both of Position and Vestments; whether of anything else I do not know yet.

A tight battle yesterday about who were to be included as expected to withdraw before oblation. Many attempts so to word it as to include children. I resisted stoutly, and it ended in simply, "Those who so desire may withdraw." A pause could not be resisted, and perhaps ought not; the fight was who were to withdraw.

We are now going into a very grave question which is in my hands, about including the unbaptised and excommunicated.

I asked that it be postponed till this morning, on account of the gravity of the thing. I have this morning advised that it be not taken in hand, and the Committee have concurred.

A Petition signed by fifty-six Peers and gentlemen, presented by Dean of St Paul's, for due consideration of Convocation of the Bill before any further steps be taken in

¹ Committee on Rubrics.

² Rev. H. A. Jeffreys, Vicar of Hawkhurst, Kent, and Hon. Canon of Canterbury.

Parliament. Archbishop has sent down the most extraordinary message on record. Having introduced a Bill into House of Lords, and having proposed to take second reading on Thursday next—at first I believe to-day—has now sent us down a message to consider many things which are proposed to be provided for in the Bill, and give our advice thereupon.

All I said before luncheon was to claim absolute freedom of debate, which the Prolocutor freely allowed.

I think the House is very strong against the Bill, but we shall see shortly. Second reading put off till 11th May. Before that I trust the Bill may be withdrawn.

Government would have nothing to say to first Bill; so second Bill was drawn in a hurry. They say that it is done in fear of Lord Sandon's Bill, now adopted by Mr Holt in House of Commons.

How people do act from *fear* instead of *principle*.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE of CONVOCATION,
JERUSALEM CHAMBER,
WESTMINSTER, 13th April 1875.

Before business we went in procession through the Abbey to Henry VII. Chapel for the Celebration. It was a goodly thing to see Bishops and Priests, in all about one hundred. It has been near my heart for many years, and I bless God that I have been spared to see it done.

To-morrow we begin debate upon first Report on Rubrics. It is a little curious that the other seven dissentients to first Report have got, as I have got, nine reasons.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
14th April 1875.

Twelve o'clock, debate began upon our first Report, after some attempts on the part of the Archbishop to substitute for consideration of that Report, consideration of the judgment of the Upper House upon Report of *last year* of Committee upon Rubrics. If we had given way,

we should have had an interminable cross debate, and I spoke strongly against it. It ended in the Prolocutor ruling that we go on with our first Report of this year, being indeed the only reasonable course to take.

Gregory¹ is speaking—a very powerful speech. As I told him yesterday, from my knowledge of the House and of its constituent elements, I believe he will most likely carry his Resolutions, but that will not make me think better of the Report upon which the Resolutions are based.

I think it impossible to prognosticate time of closing this debate. If I can, I shall come down Friday night, at any rate, Saturday.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
JERUSALEM CHAMBER,
Thursday, 15th April 1875.

Debate getting hot—can't see an end of it. As soon as first Amendment is disposed of—which will probably be defeated by a considerable majority—then there is another before us, confirming Eastward Position at Prayer of Consecration. This Amendment will cause even a keener debate, and a closer division, probably, than on first Amendment.

Upper House is clearly minded to get rid, if it can, of the discussion, and I don't believe that, if it continues, anything will come of it. I think that, after all, the whole matter must rest with the Courts of Law, wrong or right.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
JERUSALEM CHAMBER,
16th April 1875.

It is an anxious moment to-day. The opposition have produced a proposal about which some of us have conferred this morning, and have agreed to accept. It is, under the present aspect of the House, better than I could have expected ; but, as I have told them, I am by no means sure

¹ The Rev. R. Gregory, then Canon of St Paul's, now the Dean.

that there is not a trick behind, in respect of confining the Eastward Position to the Prayer of Consecration, and I am waiting with no little anxiety to see what comes to-day.

A letter has just been brought to me from Archbishop of Dublin,¹ disclosing a terrible state of things in their Synod, threatening rupture, and asking me whether it may not be possible for Convocation of Canterbury to step in and help against this issue. He says he has also written to Bishop of Lincoln to same effect. Unfortunately there is no time now, and it is wanted next week. We are immersed, almost over our head, in the Ritual matter—but I will take counsel as I can.

We seem tottering upon all sides, and each one has almost to "fight for his own hand."

Bless you for your dear words of quietness and humble confidence in God. So long as we can have this, it is well—perhaps it is best—to suffer, to be defeated, and frustrated in hopes near and dear to us, and upon which we persuade ourselves that Truth itself hangs.

Whereas the Truth itself is not only safe in itself, but safe from us, if we are no parties directly or indirectly to any betrayal or compromise of it, but simply suffer under force from without.

To a Friend

EAST BRENT, 29th April 1875.

There is always much to be said against going to the religious Services of a belief not in essential points our own, and which we cannot accept, as you say to me you cannot, and as I am thankful to hear you say so distinctly, because such attendance can hardly fail of degenerating into amusement and æsthetic gratification, which is a dangerous thing, and, I think, necessarily hurtful.

It seems to me a thing to deny oneself. Remember the first step in the life of following Christ is to deny oneself. All the difficulty and privation of it is only so much more on the good side of the account, to be repaid infinitely in the end.

God, my dearest child, has opened to you many ways of great self-denial, and I have not known you shrink from them. I advise you to let this be added to the number.

¹ Most Rev. R. C. Trench.

To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 13th July 1875.

If it was possible for me to accept the conclusions of the Lower House as against the deeper shuffling of the Upper House, I might be disposed to think it worth the time and trouble to see whether anything could be done in the direction you suggest. But from first to last I have contended in Committee and in the House against the majority in both. And if I was asked which of the two Houses has done most mischief in this matter by shirking, evading, stultifying first principles of the Church's law, I should find it difficult to choose between the two.

When the Prolocutor was catechised on Monday, 5th inst., by the Archbishop, in the Upper House, as to what resolutions of Lower House meant, he did one thing, and he did not do another thing.

1. He said that the words were certainly not very clear.

2. He did not say, what he ought to have said, that "the law of the land" was not necessarily "the law of the Church" in matters of Worship any more than in matter of Faith.

This is the hinge upon which the whole matter will eventually turn.

Both Houses of Convocation appear to accept the Penzance Court as the Court of first instance in matter of Worship, and, I suppose, eventually in matter of Faith.

There are some of us who will not accept it in respect of either, and, after a year of deep and painful weighing of the matter, I am one of them.

To Miss Lucy Phillimore

16th July 1875.

Your subject¹ is not an easy one on many accounts—so large and general as to almost necessitate an abstract kind of handling in the space assigned. But there is no doubt that the indications are many of the necessity of directing

¹ An article on *Woman's Work*.

the public mind, and especially the women's mind, to the true account of woman's duties. I come across women aggrieved and irritated at finding their "education" has left them without either real objects or real powers of occupation; and the remedy they are proposing is to walk out of the circle which God's hand has drawn round them into the outer circle of the man. It is a very sad delusion, and filled with the worst consequences, and the most overwhelming disappointment and retribution; for I can use no other word in reference to the punishment due to an attempt to re-create the human race—not "recreate," observe, but "re-create."

To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore

16th November 1875.

I have written to our Prolocutor to say that I do not propose to attend any more meetings of Committee on Rubrics which begin to-day. To-morrow the York delegates join our Committee. Now, as the purpose of all this is to arrive, if possible, at something to be proposed for legislation in the matter of the Rubrics; having a very clear opinion that it is about the worst thing that can be done for the Church of England to help to bring anything into Parliament dealing with Rubrical change, and having acted upon this principle all through the past deliberations of the Committee, it seems to me that I am no longer in my place in a Committee which is proposing to act upon the opposite principle, and has signified such its purpose by the vote of a considerable majority.

Even if to legislate at all were not dangerous in the extreme, as I believe it to be, the amount of change, good, bad and indifferent, upon which our two Houses and York Convocation are at all likely to agree, is so very small, as of itself to supply a cogent reason against proposing to change anything.

If I could have thought that there was the smallest prospect of my being able to persuade the Committee to abandon the proposal about legislation, I would have come up; but I have no such belief. If I live, I can fight it in the House.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
17th February 1876.

This morning early I fell to considering after reading the Judgment,¹ and altered the first sentence of my Gravamen² accordingly.

I have talked with several men and find a strong feeling. What will happen I do not estimate. The position is as bad as it can possibly be.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
18th February 1876.

Every day appears to me to bring fresh evidence of an incontrovertible kind that we are going continually and steadily downwards, so far as the Corporate action of the Church is concerned. And the way in which the Archbishops are leading and pressing all this on is one of the most remarkable and terrible aspects of the time.

I can, however, see that many are getting more alarmed than I have as yet seen them to be. But I doubt what will be the Corporate Act in the end, nevertheless.

I am very sad at heart. The one thing that cheers me, as from man, is the personal kindness shewn to me on all sides. In public action I can find nothing to comfort.

To the Rev. Canon Liddon

EAST BRENT, 4th March 1876.

I will send the letters when I get them back from London. Gregory and I propose 2nd May for meeting in London—and that, referring to the “Judgment” as the

¹ Judgment of Judicial Committee of Privy Council in Case of Jenkins v. Cook. “But to print a book (in this case selections from Old and New Testaments) ignoring certain doctrines did not prove that the person so doing rejects those doctrines.

² “That the said Judgment did dishonour to God and to His Word and to His Church here in England.” The case against Mr Jenkins was that he denied the Eternity of Punishment, impugned passages of Holy Scripture, and denied the personality of the Devil. For these reasons, the Rev. Flavel Cook repelled him from the Holy Communion.

occasion which has brought us together, we should go into the question, What are grounds for refusing Holy Communion?

I feel very deeply that without some such proceeding on our part (whether put out for more general signature or not to be considered), we shall have a burden of unfulfilled responsibility upon us, which I for one cannot allow myself to carry.

"Low Churchmen's" morality is not over good—but neither is "High Churchmen's." The bait of "the Establishment" is too tempting at present and in past.

Where we have given into our hands an occasion for doing at least something by consent towards "vindicating the ways of God to men," let us not be slow to do it.

My letters from Mr Cook and Members of his Congregation are very moving.

To the Rev. Canon Liddon

EAST BRENT, 10th March 1876.

Your kind letter is full of just causes for deep and, I fear, abiding sadness, which is, I suppose, the only true account of the conflict between the Church and the World. But then, God be praised, as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing.

Gregory tells me that he had had a long talk with you with the issue which your letter conveys to me from yourself. His own mind, as in that letter, being that, if the other side accept our proposal for a Conference heartily and frankly, we should go on with it—otherwise not, but confine ourselves to a move in our House in May.

I will not contend against your view of the matter: I do not know that I can. Of course, the other side will not look at the proposal for abatement of persecution, if it was made to them; and if it is not made to them because it is known beforehand that it is useless to make it, this would appear to be a strong evidence of the soundness of the position which you take—and also a sad proof of the rottenness of the Establishment position.

My anxiety has been, and is, extreme that something should be done to relieve the Church of England from complicity in what I can speak of in no other terms than the deadly character of the Judgment.

If it should prove that, because we are not in accord about the way of doing this, nothing is done in any corporate, or quasi corporate way, then I do not see what remains but to sit still and await the final issue. If what is in its reality—and apart from special pleading, of which there is so much among us—a deadly assault upon the Church, upon the Bible, upon our Lord Himself, is to be passed by as a thing with which upon technical grounds it is conceived (as I affirm, quite untruly) the Church need not concern herself, then I am wholly at a loss to understand what those things are with which the Church need concern herself.

Looking back upon the things with which my life has been closely concerned for the last thirty years, I cannot help seeing that “High Churchmen,” whether “Ritualist” or not, have not stood fast upon the principle or principles for which they have contended and are contending, with so many words and some feeble expenditure of money. There are plenty of meetings, speeches, memorials, petitions, some subscribing, and a great deal of declamation and flourish.

But after all, it has remained for a “Low Churchman”¹ to be the first to make a great sacrifice for “conscience sake,” and I wait, I cannot say hopefully, for something like this on the High Church side.

I should not have resigned, as Mr Cook did. I should have gone on ministering and repelling Mr Jenkins, being inhibited for disobeying monition, and finally deprived. But in both cases of inhibition and deprivation, I should have required the actual arm of the officer of the Court to remove me from my Church and house.

Anything short of this would be to admit the authority of the Courts. I have no idea of pleading before a Court, and then disobeying its Sentence if it is against you.

I always told dear Bishop Hamilton that I thought it a great mistake to make distinctions between Arches Court and Judicial Committee.

A distinction which is not of fact, but of theory only, is worthless, or worse. Both were, and are, Courts of “the Establishment,” and the first subject to appeal to the second.

What he should have done I have said many times ;

¹ The Rev. Flavel Cook, who resigned the living of Christ Church, Clifton.

and I see that Bishop Grey's mind was the same upon it: he should have excommunicated Williams, after trial in his own Court, at his own altar.

I am sorry to have troubled you at so great length, but my mind and heart are very full; and while I have never known despondency about the ultimate recovery of the Church of England, I see nothing but "darkness that may be felt" in her corporate position as connected with and subject to the Civil Power.

God in His mercy, is, I know, raising up the seven thousand faithful. *Sursum Corda.*

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 2nd April 1876.

It is all very bad, but its very badness helps. Some day, perhaps, if English people have real stuff left in them about these things, it will be so bad as to be beyond bearing any longer. In this issue lies, as it seems to me, our best, indeed our only decent prospect.

Reality—existing now only very sparsely—has to be trampled into something like a general mind inside the Church (it is much more existing outside—the enemy are real enough; it is the defending army which is unreal), and then there will be something among us worth having. Meantime there is nothing for the few but to suffer and be thankful.

In this mind I keep absolutely and steadily away from all things Legislative and Judicial, in Parliament, or in Courts, which, directly or indirectly, touch the Church, most of all from anything which, directly or indirectly, affects Doctrine, Discipline, Worship. For I hold it to be nothing else than an utter delusion to suppose that it is in the nature of things, as they are—and will probably remain, for a time at least, in this country—either to frame or to modify Legislation or Judicial action so that it shall be for anything but harm to the Church.

I have for some years past been steadily approaching this conclusion. I have now reached it definitely.

The "Conservative" majority in Parliament are undoubtedly, as a body, the most mischievous element in Parliament. They talk about "The Church": what they

mean is only the "Establishment," with as little of Church in it as suits the time.

The Corporate Life of the Establishment is becoming day by day more distinctly Erastian, and, therefore, more feeble and valueless. The life of the individual element is, by God's mercy, quickening and strengthening as the other decays and dies. The seven thousand faithful are mustering for the battle. Meantime the advanced guard fights, suffers, falls; but their places fill up one by one, and the ranks behind are longer and deeper. Meantime I cannot believe that the Establishment, as accepted by the great mass of English Church people, can be made to be any way fit to be accepted by a "Catholic."

To Lady Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 22nd April 1876.

One loss and great sorrow upon another.

"Sic labitur ætas."

"Nigra veste senesco."

What an awful mystery life is!—nothing less than death is. God be thanked we can look onward and upward. I often ponder with myself how a mind which has no assured and surviving hope beyond this world gets on at all.

I am speaking here of people who lead really decent lives and are not hypocrites, but who are without the one Hope. I can't think how they bear up against the multitudinous toils and sorrows of life. I always think of myself that I should sink directly. Of course, there are very many in life's awful mystery who do really, and some of them avowedly, put aside all thought of a future, living only the animal life with the curse (for it will have become to them a curse) of reason linked to it.

But it is of the others that I think; they would dignify life, but with what do they dignify it? With one or more things that they cannot carry away with them when they die, as supplying any title to a higher life, and which while they live have no element of peace in them.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
20th July 1876.

Place full of mischief; Conference repeated 2 P.M. this afternoon. I believe there is hardly anything which the House may not be persuaded into, but we shall see.

Conference going on since 2 P.M. Archbishop and Bishops shaky and muddling as usual. Lower House showing front, but with what result it is impossible to say.

Have just spoken; Bishop of Lichfield¹ answers what he calls my "Anathema." Is going into a long history of his New Zealand experience, which has nothing to do with what is before us.

Bath and Wells² speaking some soft things. Archbishop evidently anxious to get away.

Bishop of Chichester very weak. All over for to-day. We are to go on in Lower House till five o'clock. Oh dear, I am fighting hard for "most agreeable to the Word of God, and the Order of the Church of Christ," in place of "Most expedient," in reference to sponsors being communicants. Have carried it as Amendment. Upper House amused me much. They came to us with what they called a "Compromise," and don't conceal it at all. Then they said that what they had to give up was of small moment.

I turned upon them and said, that what they wanted us to give up to them, was about as great a thing as could be formed.

I think they were a good deal discomfited—Archbishop and twelve Bishops. If Bishops talk commonly in Upper House as they did here, I don't wonder at the Archbishop driving them with a good whip.

I think they were a good deal astonished at the openness of my speech. Many men have been to me saying, "Now, you are come, we shall get something plain," and they have got it. I pray I may not have gone beyond due bounds—I don't think I did—but I did speak quite out, and am thankful that I was able to come.

¹ Right Rev. George Selwyn.

² Right Rev. Lord Arthur Hervey.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 29th December 1876.

I have just read your letter in *Church Times*. My loving thanks to you.

If a man calling himself an English Churchman fail still to see that the "*ultima necessitas*" has arisen, and is pressing upon us with all its weight, I am sorry for his power of perception and for his truth of Churchmanship.

Tooth¹ sent me his draft of declaration, and I amended it, and made it, except a few words—which, if I had been able to keep it a post, I should have struck out—what it is.

Since then he has sent me other draughts. In mending some of them, I have pressed strongly upon him—and I hope not without success—that his course should be not to publish anything more. His position is his best letter or statement. . . .

The question he put to Gee, as reported in *Guardian* from *Standard*, "whether he was come as representing the Bishop in his own spiritual Court," or words to that effect, surprised and grieved me. First, because of its unreality—the Bishop having left himself no Court to sit in, and if he had, not proposing in any way to sit in it.

The Bishops—and I must needs add the lawyers—are talking about the law, when in fact the entire law of the Church in respect of the matters in controversy has been destroyed for the time.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 6th January 1877.

I feel much for you, but, after all, I suppose there is nothing so good here as suffering for Christ's cause. Surely it is not a question of civility or incivility. In other words, Conventionalisms have no place in the present distress.

I send some notes upon Resolutions on printed paper.

¹ The Rev. A. Tooth, of St James', Hatcham, had been, on 2nd December, suspended for three months by Lord Penzance.

With regard to Resolution 3,¹ I am in considerable anxiety. It speaks of submitting absolutely to the Synods of the Church, and bases this upon Article XX.

Now, if you say absolutely, you must understand the words "the Church," with which the Article opens, to mean the Church Catholic. For it is to this only that is owed an absolute submission in matters of Worship and of Faith.

But the Resolution refers to the Synods of a particular Church—the Church of England—and therefore the words "The Church," are being used in the Resolution in two senses, and this makes it illogical. No one of us owes absolute submission to the Synods of a particular Church in the matter of Worship, and *a fortiori*, does not owe it in the matter of Faith. It is always, if the necessity arise, submission under appeal to the Church Catholic, and we must wait to see whether the necessity does arise in any given case.

Let me try to illustrate what I mean. If the Synods of the Church of England were in an evil day to endorse the Judgment of the "Court," I should, in that case, resign my benefice with Cure of Souls, as before an adverse authority; because as Priest of the Church Catholic, I

¹ These Resolutions were unanimously adopted at an English Church Union Meeting, 16th January 1877, held to consider the case of the Rev. A. Tooth, Vicar of St James', Hatcham.

RESOLUTIONS

- (1) That the English Church Union distinctly and expressly acknowledges the authority of all Courts, legally constituted, in regard to all matters temporal.

That the English Church Union repudiates the authority of the Secular Power in matters spiritual.

- (2) That any Court which is bound to frame its decisions in accordance with the judgments of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council does not, as such, possess any spiritual authority.

That suspension *a sacris* being a purely spiritual act, the English Church Union is prepared to support any Priest who refuses to recognize a suspension [so issued], and continues to exercise his spiritual functions in the parish to which he has been appointed.

- (3) That the Church (not the State), "having power to decree rites and ceremonies and authority in controversies of Faith," this Union submits itself absolutely to the Synods of the Church; and, in regard to matters now under dispute, appeals to the Rubrics put forth by the Convocations in 1661, and to the interpretation put upon those Rubrics by the Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury in 1866, and again in the Resolutions of the same House in regard to the Eucharistic Vestment and the Eastward Position in 1875.

could not continue to minister in that Church of England under any such conditions. I should retire, as before an authority, protesting and appealing against the decision to which it had come. But so long as the Synods are clear of such complicity, and it rests with the "Court" only, I could not resign, because the alleged authority is, not only wrongly exercised, but in itself nil.

It is this distinction which, I think, wants clearly bringing out in a Resolution, as the basis of our position, *qua* "obedience" or "disobedience."

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

35 DELAMERE TERRACE,
LONDON, 17th January 1877.

I go home helped and cheered by last night, and thankful that the care of the Union is in your hands.

But I may not hide from you that I am in great fear lest (under the difficulties in which the lawyers place us by their mingled etiquette and assumption of powers which, if they possess, they ought not to exercise) all the gain of yesterday be lost again. To pass resolutions, such as we passed last night *nem. con.*, affirming our rejection—rejection absolute and unqualified—of the authority of the Judicial Committee in the matter of Worship, and to make our next succeeding step in public an appeal to that authority, appears to me an unheard-of kind of inconsistency, betokening very divided counsels and great irresolution. I do not know, for one, what there is that it is possible to urge in defence of it, and if there be really anything, how it is possible to make our members generally, much less the public, understand what it is, especially after so much of our opposite purpose has been made known.

God guide you all to the right decision. We have hoisted our flag of no surrender: do not let us go and pull it down with our own hands.

To Miss Phillimore

21st February 1877.

Your poor Uncie may, no doubt, be quoted for some things said without sufficient thought or knowledge touching the subject matter, but I don't think that for

some time past, and since the eyes of those who say they see, but see not, have been rudely opened to the truth of what that is which the Civil Power, under cover of the neo-Erastianism of Century XIX. is applying itself to do, I can be said to have said anything with uncertain voice and stammering lips.

Many trashy things are written every day. Is anything more trashy, are not few things so trashy, as leading Articles in the newspapers which make all the reading, and contain all the information, of most people by a good deal? Our "civilisation" is of a very low type, and our ignorance incapable of being measured. As for principles, they are things never served up at the world's dinner unless like the figs—so naughty that they cannot be eaten.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
26th April 1877.

We are deeply thankful. It is very kind of you to remember me and us.

I showed your letter to Prolocutor. He asked my leave to state its contents to the House. I wish you could have heard the way in which the good tidings were received.

Yesterday we were close run, and at one time in a minority—but by calling for a division in place of show of hands, I converted a minority into a majority of one, and augmented two small majorities.

Prevost's motion¹ as amended and finally carried, lays

¹ LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
26th April 1877.

24th April.—That this House having, in obedience to Her Majesty's Letter of Business, and to the directions of his Grace the President, carefully examined the Rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer, respectfully submit the result of their deliberations to their Lordships of the Upper House, and would at the same time express their opinion that it is desirable that many Rubrics, and those especially which have been the subject of litigation, should be cleared from ambiguity by legislative action; but they are also of opinion that such legislation cannot be safely entered upon until some safeguards are devised against the danger, lest changes affecting the worship of the Church should become law by the action of Parliament alone, without the consent of Convocation.

25th April.—Sir G. Prevost changed the wording, "legislative action" to "Constitutional action of the Convocation and Parliament."

an excellent foundation for further action. I wait with anxiety to see in what manner the House will be prepared when the Judgment has been given to build upon its own foundation. If it does not build, and build well, the maintaining the cause of the Church cannot but pass out of its hands. It will, in such case, have forfeited all reasonable claim to the confidence of Churchmen.

I, for one, if I live, shall not be slow to move, and I shall need all the good counsel I can command.

Would it not be possible—supposing it to be judged expedient to place the matter in my hands for the Lower House—that some of us should get together in London specially for the consideration of the position in which the Judgment,¹ afresh and in an aggravated manner, has placed the relations of the Church to the State, and communicate thereupon with me. Will you, as you have time and opportunity, take this into consideration and advise with others upon it. I place myself at your disposal, so far as the Lower House is concerned, saying only this, that I am sure you know me well enough to be satisfied that, if there are other hands in which it is thought more advisable to place it, I shall not only be content, but thankful to see it so placed.

What I care about, and am never without anxiety about, is that even the present care and diligence and labour, great as it is, should grow and increase both in quality and quantity.

To Mrs G. Denison

27th April 1877.

We are prorogued to-night till 3rd July. It is a strange thing that even the Archbishop should not hesitate, as the Church is placed, to delay our meeting again so long. But it is all of a piece.

I am in communication with C. Wood and others as to the course to be taken so soon as the "Judgment"² is made public.

¹ The Privy Council Judgment in *Clifton v. Ridsdale*.

² The Privy Council Judgment in the Case of *Clifton v. Ridsdale*, often known as the "Folkstone Ritual Case." The four points affected by the decision were (1) the Vestments; (2) the Eastward Position; (3) the Wafer Bread; (4) the Crucifix on the Screen. The decision was adverse to Mr Ridsdale on points (1) and (4).—("History of English Church Union," p. 191.)

To Mrs G. Denison

NATIONAL SOCIETY OFFICE, SANCTUARY,
WESTMINSTER, 18th May 1877.

Miserable muddle in House of Lords last night in Burials Bill¹ matter. Everything seems to point straight to the fact that the position of a "National Church," and that of a Legislature like ours cannot be made to consist together. That the inevitable tendency is to sacrifice "the Church" to popular opinion. That the necessary and no less inevitable issue is gradually increasing divergence, until it reach a point where the condition of things is found to be no longer tolerable, and the two part company finally.

Either this must happen, or "the Church" must become an accomplice in substituting "popular opinion" for "Church Discipline," which is, not only to compromise, but to betray the Church.

All that we can do to-day is, I think, to lay down certain principles as guides to the Chairman, in drafting Report for consideration by Committee, and even this will involve a long discussion. I am very thankful that at last we have got them at work, and I pray God something good will come of it. I think men seem very much in earnest about it.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 18th June 1877.

I read you with very great thankfulness.

I have been obliged to "take to" —— privately; he is really too bad —— "our gifted Archbishop," etc., etc. There are gifts and gifts. You are never safe with —— as with ——; very different men.

What a deal more trouble friends always give than enemies, and how much more harm they do.

We must fight ——, he would soon ruin everything; good man too, and able, but does not really care one straw

By this bill, permission was given to persons not being Ministers of the Church of England to officiate in the Consecrated Graveyards of the Church of England.

about Ritual, and goes all lengths for saving Establishment. I am always splitting away from him, and sometimes from dear old Gregory too. They commonly go together, not always. Both much too much policy men for me; comes of "living" and "managing" in London, and being too near the Civil Power.

I can always smell two smells, neither of them pleasant, when I get within seven miles of London; I might say three smells:

1. Stock Exchange smell.
2. Law Court smell.
3. Parliament smell.

Any one of them bad enough; all three together overpowering.

There is also number 4—*Times* and *Guardian* smell; very bad.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
5th July 1877.

Compton's¹ motion was coming on when Prevost read (Gravamen in matter of burial). I saw House was keenly alive, and proposed making "Gravamen" into "*Articulus Cleri*"; carried by 50 to 9.

In consequent debate, suggestion made that document was so important that it would be well to have it carefully gone into out of the House, and so deferred till to-morrow; so far so good. Compton now on. Has made a good speech, but of no weight, in my judgment. Henry Jeffreys is screaming away, seconding. Dear good fellow! he is all in earnest and knows much, and is so loving that he is hardly, as I tell him, fit to live in this planet, so far as the ordinary work of life is concerned. His voice sinks so low as to be hardly audible when he means to be impressive. Then when he is energetic, it becomes a painful scream. The Prolocutor has just told him that he would be very well heard without exerting himself so much; his answer was that he could not help it.

I have made a short speech upon the unstatesmanlike character of the proposal. Several men who do not often agree with me have come to me at luncheon time, and said they were quite of my mind, and very glad to hear what I had said.

¹ Rev. Lord A. Compton, now Bishop of Ely.

We are now upon the motion moved by Dean of Worcester, the previous question. I have said what I refer to above, in support of the previous question, and believe that I have got not a few votes for it. But I doubt its being carried.

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET, S.W.,
5th July 1877.

Very hearty and cheery this morning ; excellent dinner and kindest welcome at the Irons' house ; much talk. He thinks my speech very good, *but too soon by a few years*. How funny it is to be so often before the time.

Article to-day in *Daily Express* on me. So far as I can understand it, which is not much, reads to me wholly evasive of real point. I have written them a little letter of thanks for full report and kindness of article, but not going into it in any way. The writer and I disagree upon first principles, and it would be idle.

Am going down to fight again A. Compton's resolution. I see many countenances changed towards me since Tuesday night.

It moves me less than I thought it might. When a difference of principle is absolutely and finally pronounced, the mind is much more at rest. I have stated my conclusions, and given my reason. It is really no answer to say that they cannot see how the conclusions follow from the reasons. It is a common newspaper way of writing, which fact is not certainly in favour of its character.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
6th July 1877.

I am sore at heart about the poor, faltering, unworthy character of what is called "Defence of Church" and her Truth in our House, as in Upper House.

All was carried wrong yesterday, as day before. I am going to withdraw my notices this morning, stating that one of two things must take place if I proceed with them.

That they be at once rejected—and any other issue it seems to be impossible to look for.

Or that not being rejected, the debate upon them would exceed the limits of these Sessions.

I shall also withdraw the notice I have given about "Discipline of Bishops" in the matter of "Discipline of Clergy," and have therefore nothing left to do in the House. I shall just stay till the Burial Gravamen, which I got accepted yesterday for "*Articulus Cleri*," is settled and passed, and shall then step quietly away saying nothing, and go about my little matters, ordaining to come down by 4.31 Brent Knoll to-morrow.

Attempt—not very worthy—to burke the Burial *Articulus Cleri*. I stood fast and saved it, and we are now debating it, and I can see that the House is glad I have saved it. I see that the debate upon it is not likely to be short. I hope I have saved it from an insertion, very insulting to the Roman Catholics, inserted since yesterday, and am trying to get it struck out altogether.

I have got rid of the offence—I hope wholly—by others' help. It is curious—I am only saying it to my own dear wife—that here again, if I had not been in the House yesterday, and seized upon the opportunity of making this Gravamen a public act of the whole House, nobody else would have done it. There was no sign of it. And again to-day, if I had not stood fast upon yesterday's vote, the whole thing would have been shelved and converted into a statement of individual members—a thing, however good, comparatively of little weight or value.

I think that it is in such things, as matters stand, that I may still be of service in the House, without coming into sharp collision upon primary points of Faith and Worship.

All this serves to show that it is best to go away to-day without another word.

The debate has been very valuable.

To a Friend

EAST BRENT, 19th July 1877.

We need never to put out of our thoughts that our good Angel is tending each one of us, and is joyful or sad for us according to what we do.

Duty is a stern thing in itself. In the way of doing it it loses its sternness, which comes out of the necessary con-

flict with temptations of whatever kind. The face has to be set as a flint.

But the heart in its humbleness, and the manner in its gentleness, show that, so far as duty permits, there is the earnest desire and the endeavour to avoid giving pain.

If pain must be given, let it be after the way that the good Angel would rejoice in—*fortiter—suaviter*.

God and His Angel keep you ever.

To a Friend

EAST BRENT, 29th January 1878.

I do not encourage "Confession" in such a case, though I could not refuse to hear it. It seems like asking God's pardon for what there has been no sufficient and steady effort to amend—sins, but not mortal sins, except when they have become the settled habit of the soul.

It seems to me almost an abuse of the Sacrament of Penance to apply it to the case of the same (not deadly) offences repeated, and to want of progress.

If I can give you any counsel I have not given already, or strengthen that already given by repeating and enforcing it, I shall, you know, be ever ready to talk with you.

What is wanted is to import the same (at least) fixed purpose, care, observance, watching, energy, self-denial, into the care of the soul which we import into all earthly concerns which interest us deeply.

This cannot be done except by Grace. Grace cannot be had if it be not sought as the one help in our need which will really avail us. Alas! how easy to write and say all this—how difficult to do it. But in this difficulty lies our special warning—"Awake, thou that sleepest," etc.

"Why stand ye here all the day idle?"

To Miss Phillimore

9th March 1878.

I will gladly read the book.¹

But I distrust, and have a strong aversion from all these speculations. I am wholly satisfied with what is delivered in Holy Scripture, and want no non-natural

¹ Farrar's "Eternal Hope."

interpretations, which, after all, have no authority but that of the man who makes them and those who receive them as having authority, which they have not.

You say, "not the purgatory of the Roman Catholics, but an intermediate state." Now Roman Catholic Purgatory is an "intermediate state."

I suppose what Farrar is really at, is the getting rid of "eternity of punishment" by help of his view of the intermediate state.

It is not a time of simple and childlike faith (the only thing of which our Lord is said to have rejoiced). It is a time of intellectual subtleties and refinements, often very alluringly dressed, but all resolving themselves into explaining away Scripture, and prying into Mysteries—the "secret things" of God.

I have always set my face as a flint against the mind of the time. I believe it oversets the faith of many, and makes love wax cold while it proposes to increase it. It has another aspect, that of the craving longing after what is thought to be new, and is therefore exciting, but is really as old as the hills, in its substance, and not more eternal.

To Miss Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 13th March 1878.

Thank you much for the book. I have looked through the Preface, and I will try to read the Sermons, but I do not hide from you that it will be very difficult to me to do it, and that I am very sorry that you should like the book. One thing among many in the Preface especially grated upon me—p. 49.

To argue that because a doctrine makes "infidels" the doctrine is wrong, is about as curious a deduction as I ever heard of. He might just as well say that the existence of sin, and its final misery and death, "makes infidels," and that therefore the existence of sin is a thing casting doubt upon all revelation.

Then I think him an unfair arguer. He contends for eternal life, against eternal punishment.

Now to take only one place. St Matt. xxv. 46; "And these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal."

But in the Greek the word is *the same* in both cases.

Now this place is not a parable at all. It is a description by our Lord of the final Judgment.

I cannot tell you how my nature revolts against these searchings into the mysteries of God. If you believe anything about God, you believe that His Love, Justice, Mercy, are all of them perfect, also His Wisdom. You know that it is not given to you nor to any human being to comprehend His Mysteries. You know that those who come to the Beatific Vision, will comprehend them in their new nature. To what good purpose to make argument about what you cannot comprehend? And to say in effect—as all these people say—God forgive them—"If God punishes eternally, He is not merciful, not loving, etc., etc. But we know He is all these things, therefore He does not punish eternally." The attempt at reasoning is absurd.

Be advised, dearest Catherine, put aside allurements of this kind. I am not struck by the writing of the book. The logic of it I think very poor indeed. It is also, so far as I can see, very unfair. He saddles upon those who do not agree with him "physical torment." Well, I know nothing about it, any more than he does. But I can understand Hell without any "physical torment."

His argument, again, against Purgatory is not against Purgatory at all, for he believes in Purgatory. It is against abuses of an ecclesiastical character connected with Purgatory.

I have dipped into the book in some places. It seems all of it to me to be founded in a misconception of what Faith is. See Deuteronomy xxix. 29.

To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore

WATERPERRY, OXFORD,
6th July 1878.

I cannot repay any way all that you have done for me. Words are poor things, but it was all I had, and I was thankful to give it.

It makes me laugh—considering that I am always attacking people now-a-days for not citing Latin correctly—that I should have blundered myself in so trite a citation.

I keep pondering over my general conclusion, as

summed up and arrived at upon the evidence of the last fifty years.

I cannot see what escape there is from it.

It disposes me more and more to withdraw, for what time may remain to me, from taking part in any public action. I cannot act with those I have been used to act with. They are much too "Establishmentarian" for me—much too much that is, preferring to keep "Establishment" at any cost. And I know of no others with whom I can act.

So I think I have made my bow, and no doubt shall be considerably hissed. Nevertheless, I comfort myself with thinking that I have not made personal enemies—how many kind and loving friends, it would not be easy to reckon up.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

WATERPERRY, OXFORD,
14th July 1878.

Very glad my book¹ pleases you. Notices, so far as I have seen them, are not otherwise than complimentary.

It seemed to me that a *résumé* was wanting, and that, perhaps, I was in the way of being able to give it as much as any man, and more than most men. The dish was so condensed and solid as to require what spice and seasoning I could put into it, and it was not without difficulty that I kept my fingers from many more things of the story class. But I felt that I must not put in an overdose.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 17th August 1878.

I ought to have written yesterday, but forgot in hurry of things. The position is difficult, but better in your hands than in any other man's.

I should not myself go upon the "Condonation" ground; I would rather say that I assume the Catholic position of Church of England as a matter upon which I cannot enter into argument, but that I am quite ready

¹ "Notes of my Life," 1805-1878.

to argue the matter upon the ground of equal justice, and the letting alone policy in respect of ceremonial—being the policy which on our side has been taken all along.

If you take the “condonation ground,” there is, as it seems to me, an end of the discussion “*in limine*.” It says we are indisputably right—you as indisputably wrong. But, nevertheless, you can go on as you please ; so far as we are concerned, we shall take no notice of you.

Now they have something to say for their position—perhaps a good deal, taking into account all the long enduring neglect on our side ; and it is, I think, the only ground to take that all we ask for is the even hand.

The matter has fallen necessarily into the question, What does the Congregation (or rather the Communicants) desire? I should say let the Communicants decide where a question arises, and if a two-thirds majority elect for Ritual, let their election be a bar to all proceedings by assailant.

I put this as the utmost I could concede. I know that it would be held to be too much by most of us ; but I believe that the victory would virtually be with us even now, and certainly in after years. Starting, then, from the basis of our never having assailed in the matter of Ritual, and having the above to propose or suggest for consideration, I think our position would be very much strengthened.

To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 21st November 1878.

You are a man of curious literature, and in the way of seeing like men.

Can you tell me, or put me in the way of knowing, whether any of the old “philosophies” of the world, Asiatic or European—besides the Epicurean—have propounded theories of origin of human species of a like nature with the Epicurean, or in any other form, *discarding the supernatural*, and so essentially materialistic?

I suppose the supernatural agency account to be two-fold.

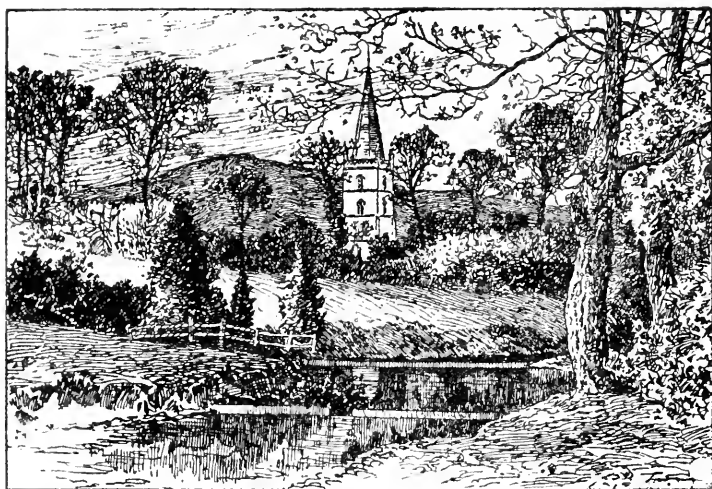
1. Revealed in Bible. 2. Local and heathenish.

These, with the atomic theory, appear to exhaust the “dividendum.”

The enquiry is important, as bearing upon the "Evolution" theory. I am not read in Darwin, and may easily be wrong ; but, as I understand the case, I can see no real difference between Darwin and Epicurus.

In your "*horis subsecivis*," if you have any, enlighten me upon all this. I am not rich in books here, and very imperfect in information ; and I am collecting matter for my lecture at Hull,¹ 14th January.

¹ Some Outlines of the History of Philosophy, read 14th January 1879. at the Literary and Philosophical Institute, Hull.



EAST BRENT FROM THE RESERVOIR

1879-1882

CHURCHMEN had long thought that the presence of the Archbishops and of some Bishops on the judicial Committee of the Privy Council sitting as a Court of Final Appeal in ecclesiastical cases gave it an appearance of being a spiritual court, while it still remained a secular one. As appears by Archdeacon Denison's letters of May 1879, an opportunity presented itself in July 1873 for doing away with this state of things. The three intimate friends, Bishop Wilberforce, Sir R. Phillimore with whom the idea originated, and Mr Gladstone, taking Archdeacon Denison into their counsels, planned, arranged, and accomplished their project in less than two days. On 19th July 1873 came the catastrophe of Bishop Wilberforce's sudden death, and for want of his influence and guiding hand the scheme was spoilt.

The Convocation debates of the summer of 1879, in which the Archdeacon took a considerable part, were concerned with the Rubrics of the Prayer Book, and

especially with the one commonly known as the Ornaments Rubric, the ground on which the battle of the Ritual suits was chiefly fought. The two Houses of Convocation differed widely as to the interpretation of its meaning, and the question of an alteration. The Archdeacon held to his opinion, and in the end, though much was threatened, nothing was done.

A Bill of the Bishop of Carlisle's for allowing Convocation to make Rubrics which should be law unless vetoed by Parliament was vigorously opposed by the Archdeacon (who apprehended nothing but harm from Parliament touching the Prayer Book), and two considerable meetings in London, organised by him, did much to avert the evil.

In 1880 the Burials Bill, and still more the questions of discipline which it involved, as to excommunication and the burial of unbaptised persons, occupied his time in Convocation, and also in connection with the English Church Union, where his view was not adopted. He advocated the same line of conduct, the restoration of discipline, at the Leicester Church Congress.

In the autumn of the same year the imprisonment of the Rev. W. Pelham Dale for contempt of Court was the occasion of another great meeting, at which the English Church Union was pledged to support all clergy suspended for this cause.

In 1881 the Archdeacon was saddened by what he considered the unsatisfactory tone of thought in Convocation and the English Church Union in regard to the Law Courts and Church suits. This year, and the following one, his thoughts were much occupied by the long imprisonment of the Rev. S. F. Green, and in the autumn by the death of Dr Pusey and the proposed memorial to him. There was also a question of a memorial to Archbishop Tait, which the Archdeacon hoped would make much for unity, but this last scheme fell through.

To Mrs G. Denison

WATERPERRY, 7th February 1879.

Last night I was preaching to some 1500 people at Birmingham about an hour or more—they sat still as mice.

This morning in driving to station I went to see dear Newman; he came to me very soon in a room at the Oratory downstairs—nothing could be more affectionate than all his manner. I was surprised to see him looking so little old, and generally, so well.

We sat talking for a time, then I got up and took his two hands and said: "How thankful I am to see your dear old face again—God bless you."

He said "God bless you—ah, me," the words and the tone stirred all my heart, and I could say no more. He came with me to the outer door. He had adverted again to my book and to his warm interest in it. I am very thankful to have seen him once again, and our interview has left an impression upon me which I cannot define or explain.

Dean of York¹ told me a story which Bishop Kaye (Lincoln) used to be fond of telling, here it is for East Brent:—

"When winter approached, many clergy in a wild cold part of Lincolnshire were in the yearly habit of leaving their parishes to take care of themselves.

"He wrote to expostulate, and succeeded more or less with many.

"One stood out, and upon receiving from the Bishop a somewhat stronger remonstrance, replied as follows:—

"MY LORD BISHOP,—I have received and beg respectfully to acknowledge your last letter. I believe that your Lordship can hardly be aware of the condition of our roads at this time of year.

"I am satisfied that if your Lordship saw them, you would think with me that it is impossible at present for our Great Enemy to reach my parish. As soon as weather mends, and the roads give any signs of becoming passable, I assure your Lordship that I will take care to be beforehand with him."

¹ Very Rev. and Hon. Augustus Duncombe.

*To Miss Denison*EAST BRENT, *Ash Wednesday*, 1879.

Very pleased that lecture approves itself to you. When they asked me to come September last, I told them that I was neither literary nor philosophical, but as they pressed it I thought it would be an opportunity for telling Hull folk that there are other philosophies in the world besides "natural science"—besides and above—so I went. I have had a good many letters about it, among them some from clergymen saying that till they had read the lecture they had not understood the ultimate purpose of the Book of Job. I do not know again how far anything has been said before about the close connection between "Comus" and the philosophy of Socrates. . . . Snow lying on the Knoll and about this morning—three months very hard winter. In Yorkshire, it began 11th November, near Halifax, with thunder, lightning, and heavy snow.

To Reginald Portman, Esq.¹

EAST BRENT, 28th March 1879.

Not many things so pleasant to read as your letter or so full of honour to the writer—you have done wisely and well. There are no doubt strings that pull at you a good deal, but that is always so when the real work of life has to be taken to in earnest. It costs a good deal then, and there is much to contend with. The race of life is so crowded here within not very large limits, and, as I think, narrowing limits, and people jostle each other so heavily all round the course, that if I were young I think I should take to some place where there was more breathing room and more opening. When one compares the idle life of a young English gentleman without many pounds a year with the hard toiling life such as yours, it is plain enough which of the two any sensible mind must prefer upon every account. . . .

Things public are bad enough—like, I think, to be worse—war in Africa in disregard of the first principles of generalship, with all its naturally hideous issues. . . .

¹ Son of Rev. and Hon. Fitzhardinge Berkeley Portman.

Meantime at home the depression of agriculture and manufactures is very great, nor is it commonly thought that it is going to right itself. You see, though we have had depression before from time to time, there are new and exceptional conditions attaching to the present one.

1. We have ceased to be the workshop of the world.
2. Hours of labour the shortest ever known.
3. Wages of labour the highest ever known.
4. Articles produced the least good ever known.

There is also this, and there is nothing worse; even the shortest labour hours with the highest wages do not see work fully, honestly, well done. It is all scamp and knocking off and gross defrauding of time and money.

I look upon the prospect as a very gloomy one—I don't like doing so, but I cannot help it.

I have made me beautiful reservoir a long way up the knoll—have discovered and re-opened two capital springs—have carried excellent water to the top of Vicarage House, and all over village. I am also breeding trout and char—I should rather say trying to breed—for my first attempt was a failure. I hatched some 2500 eggs and the fishlings were lively and merry. Twenty-four hours, and then all died to a fish. Having taken counsel of fish pundits I have come to the conclusion that this very untoward and unprecedented event is owing to my having carried the water to fish-house direct from the spring, so that it was not sufficiently aerated, and I am taking measures, if I live another hatching season, against this mistake. Meantime I import young trout and char. I am sending day after to-morrow for 500 from Dunster Castle, where May Luttrell hatches with great success.

To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore

13th May 1879.

It seems to me that the Bishop's life¹ should not be without record of the last action taken in it, when in 1873, just before his death, he entered so vigorously, in conjunction with yourself and myself, as first agents—yourself being the original mover—into the matter of taking Episcopate out of Judicial Committee. I have the whole

¹ Life of Bishop Wilberforce.

thing, in its substance, in my recollection—one or two precise facts and dates is all I want. In talking with R. on Sunday he said that it would be well that Ashwell should have it in his hands.

But there is a preliminary question, viz., what would be your wish as to the appearance of your name in the matter? You know better than I do much that passed, because I left London as soon as Convocation separated, and the conduct of the thing remained with the Bishop and yourself.

I remember being told that when he fell from his horse and died, the papers relating to it were found in his pocket.

It was a great *coup d'Eglise*, finely conceived and executed in some thirty-six hours.

It was marred by Conservative folly and Episcopal weakness, narrowness, blindness.

I should be sorry that it should not be recorded, as it can be upon the best authority, and am ready, if it is thought well, to set down all I know about it, and the part I took in it. What do you say? There is no present hurry. But if it is agreed to deal with it, Ashwell should be communicated with upon the matter generally, as soon as decision is taken.

EAST BRENT, 26th May 1879.

Please keep memoranda as long as you like. It was a *coup* full of historical interest, beautifully conceived and dexterously carried out. I have always chuckled over it much.

MEMORANDA. G.A.D.

15th May 1879.

In 1873, end of June or beginning of July, I came up to London for Convocation.

Just after arrival R. Phillimore said to me, "Here is what House of Commons has done last night or to-day—I forget which—so-and-so about Appeal Bill. Don't you think it would be a good opportunity for getting it to do one more thing, *i.e.* getting rid of Bishops out of Final Appeal Court in matters Ecclesiastical?" "Very good indeed," I said. "Shall you see Bishop of Winchester?"

"I am going to breakfast with him to-morrow, and would go a little before time to talk to him about it." Went next morning—told Bishop. "Capital," he said, "I will write to Gladstone about it at once, and ask to see him after breakfast." In three minutes the note was on its way.

Then I sat by Bishop at breakfast and we considered ways and means. I said I shall want some to get at the Conservatives, and named to Bishop three or four other side of table. For myself, I said, I shall keep out of it, because if I appeared in it I might damage the case. Bishop assented. "Don't you say anything to the chatterer opposite," he added. "He would earwig Archbishop, and it would all be up with us." "My dear Bishop," I said, "I am not quite so silly as to tell him anything."

So we parted for that day, and I went about my Conservative helpers. All I did besides, personally, was to try to see Hardy, but I could not find him—and it was quite as well.

Next morning—Thursday I think—went to breakfast.

Bishop told me that Gladstone had at once concurred, and said that if Conservatives would not interfere to prevent he would do it, and would lay it before Cabinet that afternoon. Meantime wished him to see Hardy.

Hardy concurred, and said he would propose it himself.

Next day—Friday—at afternoon sitting, Hardy proposed—nobody demurred—Gladstone said that there appeared so remarkable a concurrence in House that Her Majesty's Government could not but accept—and in some fifteen minutes it was done.

Afterwards Lords and others got frightened. Archbishop was furious, and Lords spoilt it all.¹

But it was a very pretty *coup d'Eglise* conceived and executed in thirty-six hours.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 16th June 1879.

I go to Convocation (having been away since July 1877, while they were muddling about details) to do what I may against the assault upon first principles of our

¹ In 1876, the Archbishops and Bishops were removed from the Privy Council, though an amendment of Lord Cairns' provided for their sitting as Assessors.

position. If the Synods agree to go to Parliament for an altered, *i.e.* a lowered Prayer Book, and Parliament is mad enough to entertain it, the issue in all its misery is not far to see.

What a truly pitiable position is that of a State Bishop in Century XIX. Bad enough at all times I think—but as things stand, beyond badness.

Private relations between Bishop of Bath and Wells, and myself as good as ever, notwithstanding. He writes privately to-day with most hearty kindness.

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
26th June 1879.

Dinner at Gregory's last night. Bishop of Ely, Beresford Hope. A good many of us — much discussion afterwards.

B. Hope read five letters from Gladstone, Northcote, Cross, Salisbury, Cranbrook, all strongly concurring in utter impolicy of bringing Rubrics before Parliament.

Not a few, however, in our House seem quite demented about it in one shape or another. I am going this morning to put questions to Prolocutor about exact position of our House in respect of any votes come to touching directly or indirectly the going to Parliament for legislation in the matter of Rubrics, with dates and numbers on either side.

This will be a foundation upon which to build up the Anti-agreement.

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
27th June 1879.

We are to meet for consultation in St Paul's Chapter House, Monday, 2 P.M.

Yesterday it transpired that what Upper House had come to in matter of Ornaments Rubric was to recommend disallowance of all but Surplice.

This extravagance of invasion makes, I think, our

victory secure. But it is anxious work. I can't help thinking when I consider their action, of Cromwell's words at Dunbar, when the Scots came down the hill: "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands."

But it is not pleasant to apply the words to the House of Convocation of Canterbury. . . . All the morning at work mustering our forces to the battle. Upon suggesting such muster to our men this morning, all accepted the prudence of the proceeding, and I have done all I could to secure the muster being made.

We have been all day debating Ainslie's¹ Report upon Relations of Church and State—very ably and well in all respects introduced and handled.

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
29th June 1879.

A busy day—woke early to consider our course so far as Upper House vote was known.

Showed it to Robert; he carefully considered it, and pronounced strongly in favour of it.

Early Celebration at St James; Matins at All Saints, went up early to get Berdmore Compton's judgment; he too quite approved.

On to St Paul's. Gregory gone to Brighton, back to-night. Luncheon with Mrs Gregory and left a letter for him, am to have answer from him to-morrow morning. Came home and found Carnarvon and Lady Carnarvon here; talked with him and showed him Resolutions; quite concurred, and said I might quote him.

Went to see ——— Coming back found Gladstone here and Mrs Gladstone; good deal of talk with Gladstone; showed him Resolution; he quite concurred as Walker had done. So that I am thoroughly fortified for to-morrow. I make Gregory move—it is much better that I should not move, but come in in aid. Dine with B. Hope to-morrow. It has been very useful to have to-day to consider and concert. It seems almost providential that I should have come in contact with Carnarvon and Gladstone to-day.

¹ Rev. A. C. Ainslie, now Archdeacon of Taunton.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
30th June 1879.

2 P.M. Bishops' proposal came down, only twenty-five members present, going on with other things till to-morrow.

Gregory¹ was satisfied that he could carry a much stronger thing than mine; I could not resist, inasmuch as, having been absent two years, I could not pretend to know the feeling of the House as well as he knows it.

But I retain my opinion that my amendment² is safer; and I find that since he came down to the House he has been obliged to modify.

I find, so far as I have been able, considerable concurrence in my proposal as I have now finally written it. If Gregory is defeated, mine comes in; I am still strongly disposed to think that mine is the true policy.

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
1st July 1879.

An anxious day—how anxious I cannot say. I have printed my amendment. Many seem to prefer it to Gregory's; and if this is found to be so at all generally, it would be much best that he should make it his own. I don't want to move if I can help it, as I occupy a very "unit" sort of position in the House. I should speak in support, another moving, and another seconding. It is, however, pretty well known that it is mine, and perhaps all attempt to hide this is only foolish. However, I see some are anxious I should not move, and I want to do what I can every way for the cause.

¹ Canon Gregory's motion was :—"The Lower House regrets that it cannot concur in the Resolution of the Upper House about the Ornaments Rubric."

² "That this House, being satisfied that the addition proposed by the Upper House to the Ornaments Rubric would add to the discord in the Church instead of removing it, respectfully declines to accept such proposed addition."

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION.

Excellent speech from Gregory. I supported him, reserving my own amendment in case his is not carried. I think we shall probably divide to-night upon his.

Speaker after speaker, on our side and the other, speak of preferring my amendment.

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
Tuesday night, 1st July 1879.

Divided about 5.30 P.M.

For Gregory,	. . .	68
Against,	. . .	13

55 majority.

Crushing defeat of Upper House. Eighty-two Members present. I had several letters from Members who were entirely with us, but could not come, or would not. I spoke some forty minutes; the remarkable thing was, the absence of anything approaching to force or strength upon other side, and the voting with us of several whom we did not look to to support us.

To-morrow we are to go to my Resolution, about which a good many are anxious that it should be made part of our proceedings in the matter. I hope to-morrow may set us free from all this business.

The result is a wonderful comfort and rest to me. God be thanked for it.

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
3rd July 1879.

Long interview with Upper House as Assessor yesterday. Subject "Ornaments Rubric," our House will, I see, stand upon its Resolutions of 1875 I think, which I don't believe Upper House will accept. For myself, I cannot go with our House, because it will surrender liberty under Ornaments Rubric into the Bishops'

hands. And I shall have to say so and explain this morning. . . .

It is to me a very dreadful thing that in the Nineteenth Century the Bishops of Church of England should have made that assault upon Athanasian Creed, which Reformers in Sixteenth Century never made, nor contemplated, nor would for a moment have endured in others, if others had proposed it, which nobody did, which Restorers in Seventeenth Century never contemplated, which impugnors of Prayer Book did not make, nor for all we know, so much as think of. It points to a decay of faith, of which our time is so full and like to be fuller.

Meantime there is breathing space. The Bishops' House cannot, I think, accept our ultimatum, and there will be a dead-lock.

Much depends upon to-day. I shall probably stand alone, but this is not new in my life. I thank God I have no doubts as to what it is my duty to say and do, and I thank God for all the genuine kindness and loving bearing towards me of many who have small sympathy with what I say and do. . . .

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
3rd July 1879.

A terrible debate—half-hearted—shirking—sadly and unfairly dictated to by Prolocutor. I have been compelled to resist openly the limitation attempted to be imposed by him on the debate, and I do not think it likely that it will be attempted again.

But the uncertain and vacillating mind of the House, so far as I can as yet judge of it, is a most terrible mischief, and I should not be at all surprised to see something passed which should intensify the already existing war.

First division against Archdeacon of Oxford's amendment to take away vestments, etc., from those who use them already, as well as subjecting their introduction to the authority of the Bishop,—

For,	. . .	16
Against,	. . .	56

40 majority

Second division to adopt some watered-down suggestions as I am told, of the Bishop of Lincoln's, moved by Kempe, seconded by How —

For	. .	17
Against,	. .	50
		—

Third merely verbal.

Rubric in sum by 57 to 8, I being one of 8, on the ground that by committing it to the Bishops to allow or disallow use, the liberty of use is destroyed, and that the preface to the Prayer Book does not apply to the Ornaments Rubric such allowance or otherwise.

Probably a Conference to-morrow, at which I can state my position.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE of CONVOCATION,
4th July 1879.

"Conference" this morning.

Archbishop clever—Bishop of Lincoln gushing—general effect, so far as I can see, before we go into debate upon actual proposal, to bamboozle the House, as is usually if not always the issue of a "Conference," and as I had anticipated before it began.

I think it not unlikely that the House this afternoon will eat itself up as served up by itself on Tuesday.

If so, the only hope remaining is first—Convocation of York; second the "wisdom" and "jealousy" of Parliament, and the discretion of the Government and Governments.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood.

EAST BRENT, 11th July 1879.

It is with great sorrow that I say I am quite unable to accept your view. If I had faith in the policy, which I cannot have—if I had the smallest ground to trust in the firmness of the Lower House; or in its wisdom—(for it is the Lower House which by its resolutions of 1875 has tossed us bound hand and foot into the Bishops' hands), if

I could place any reliance upon even present Episcopal promises, to say nothing of future, still the letters I get from all parts of the country every morning would ground me in my determination for one to go forward without waiting a day more than is absolutely necessary to arrange and conclude.

What it seems to me to be our plain duty to do is to help those who feel, as I see, like men who have received a stunning blow and are looking about them for sympathy and support. Let me say frankly to you that it is something too much the way in London to be always having an eye to supposed Parliamentary results.

Even taking it for granted that all Bishops present and future were, as Bishop of Lincoln has, so to speak, guaranteed their being (somewhat I think over confidently), his own novel power of monition superseding law of Ornaments Rubric is inadmissible.

This is the real blot, and no reference to Convocation can get rid of it, because they first made it themselves, *i.e.* Lower House did—by Resolutions of 1875, in all its substance.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 12th July 1879.

I have read your letter in *Church Times*. I am sorry to have to say that it does not relieve, much less reassure me.

My purpose to move as soon as may be with those who will join with me remains unaltered.

Whether the power proposed to be given to the Bishop by new Rubric to supersede at his pleasure the law of Church and State, in respect of the Ornaments of the minister and other adjuncts of the Celebration of the Sacrament, be a power of inhibition or of limitation—whether it be exercised before or after use in the public congregation—these are matters of detail only. Whether in the Church of England, “as by law established,” there be room for such power at all, this is matter of principle. If there be such room, then let the Ornaments Rubric in its present shape be taken out of the Prayer Book as not consisting with such power. If there be not, then let not such power be given.

I am wholly unable to share in your view of the

animus of the Archbishop—but if I could share in it, this is not a matter to deal with upon grounds of *animus* of this or that Bishop, or of the whole present or future Bench of Bishops. It is a matter in which we may not surrender anything, because it is our duty not to do so.

I think you know what my judgment is touching “peace” in Church of England. I believe it cannot be had—I say more—I say that it may not be had. The one substitute for it is to abstain from encroachment on both sides—we have not encroached—the other side will never cease encroaching. They know their advantage. They know that they have with them Crown, Parliament, British public, the “World” generally. Our strength is a single one, the holding fast what we have that no man take our Crown. Though single, it is ample as against all the rest if we are faithful to it, but not otherwise.

My very dear, good and kind friend I read your letter with much regret—you have justly great influence—forgive me if I say that you are telling us of a peace where there is no peace; and of grounds of hope which have, I am persuaded, no real existence—and of making terms where we have no right to make any terms, but simply to stand upon our trust. I thought I had done with conflict, but I see that it may not be.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

13th July 1879.

You will have got my yesterday’s letter. Thank you many times for yours of yesterday. But alas, we cannot be at one in this matter. I am writing in Latin and English for publication the “Epitaph of the Ornaments Rubric” :—

“Ridiculum acri
Fortius et melius magnas plerumque secat res.”

But I propose to employ both.

Your trust in Archbishop and Bishops and Lower House is, to me, all circumstances considered, a very wonderful thing. I cannot in the least understand it. And if there were any real room for it in this matter, I don’t see that it has anything to do with the real matter in hand.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

15th July 1879.

Suum cuique—I go mine own way by myself nothing doubting *valeant alia*.

I publish¹ therefore, *meo solius nomine*, and it will be said once more—Oh, it is only G. A. D.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 16th July 1879.

When Lower House of Convocation proposed to introduce in 1875 the words upon which it has now acted, giving control in one shape or another to the Bishops in the matter of Ornaments of the minister, etc., it made a fatal mistake.

I had thought that English Church Union would have kept itself clear from such mistake. But it has not—nay, it has now endorsed it. This is the account of our difference. It is much wider than I like to think of.

I keep receiving letters every day which alarm me much. I cannot think that the real amount of what has been done is present to many minds amongst us.

As for results and success and Parliamentary prospects and all that kind of thing, I read in my Church this morning first lesson, Old Lectionary, Eccles. xi. 4, "He that observeth the wind shall not sow; and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap."

To the Rev. Canon Liddon

EAST BRENT, 17th July 1879.

I am thankful to have your letter. It is of much comfort and support to me in a great strait, about the severest I have known.

Now let me say upon the latter part of it.

¹ Pamphlet entitled "The Epitaph of the Ornaments Rubric" in Latin and English, also "Letter Declaration and Protest," by George Anthony Denison.
J. PARKER, 1879.

I appeal to "Law of Church and State," not as to a thing of primary authority, but as to a thing of inferior authority, peculiar to ourselves, and yet establishing the position I take as against authority of our Bishops in this matter.

It has long appeared to me and appears still, that granting fully all you say about authority of the Diocesan (subject always of course to Canon) in all cases where the position of a church is not defined and regulated by Statute Law, in our case, which is so defined and regulated, the authority extends as far as the Statute allows, but no farther, and that Bishop and Priest alike are limited by Statute.

Does Statute then give the Diocesan any authority over liberty of use under Ornaments Rubric—authority I mean by way of inhibition or limitation? I say it does not.

Let us grant for a moment for argument's sake, that the passage in Preface to Prayer Book in "Concerning the Service of the Church" recognised an authority in the Diocesan over Ceremonial, as contended for under Ornaments Rubric, with appeal to the Archbishop; see how the passage itself restricts itself: "so that the same order be not contrary to anything contained in this Book."

Now Ornaments Rubric is such a thing. It specifies what is law. This passage denies to the Diocesan the power of interfering with it or with its application by any way of absolute control, whatever form such control may take.

I do not deny that a National Synod may alter or even do away with Ornaments Rubric, and if Parliament concur, then such dealing with it will become law in room of the present law.

But I do deny the right of Synod to be taken as capable of giving to the Diocesan in England what the law has not only not given to him, but has expressly refused to give him.

The point is of such extreme importance to the true estimate of the position at this time, and appears to me to have been so inconsiderately overlooked, that I have ventured to trouble you with this letter.

I should be very glad that Wood should see it.

It is worth considering whether it would not be well to insert its substance in Declaration and Protest, and I will wait to hear from you in reply.

In sum, what I say is this :

That in respect of authority of the Diocesan over Ceremonial use, the Church of England for the last three centuries is in an exceptional position, all such authority in her being defined and regulated by Statute and by Canon not repugnant to Statute.

Whereas in every Church, not so prescribed to by Statute, it is Canon and Catholic custom which defines and regulates, Statute Law having no place.

That the Diocesan therefore in England is in no position to dispense with or in any way supersede Statute as of his Diocesan authority.

This is what I had in my mind when, in writing to Wood yesterday, I said that Convocation Lower House made a fatal mistake when they first proposed to supplement Ornaments Rubric with any words giving control to Diocesan, and I added that I was much distressed at finding E.C.U. endorsing the mistake.

In my judgment the whole controversy turns upon this point.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 18th August 1879.

I have written my paper for Diocesan Conference at Taunton, 24th October, against all manner of legislation in the matter of Prayer Book, and am now about beginning arrangements for operations in London in November, in *eadem materia*. Delay would be damaging. But before I take first step to these, I must write to you and have your answer.

The difference between us, though one of principle—for you would have accepted, under given conditions, what I could not accept under any conditions, viz. the transfer under “new Rubric,” to discretion of Bishop, of Statutable “liberty” of Priest under Ornaments Rubric, together with the vague but threatening note appended to Ornaments Rubric. This difference has, I am glad to think, become an abstract difference by the disappearance of the conditions into the Limbo of Vanities out of which they came never, I trust, to re-appear in any tangible shape.

With the conditions has disappeared also the great

difficulty of accepting, subject to them, the legislation they necessarily involve—in the case of a Church in which all order and authority is ultimately Statutable—with one hand, and rejecting it with the other.

So that I hope I may say we are now free to operate in conjunction, as before the difference arose, for—

No Legislation in the matter of Prayer Book.

I want no new Association. I want a great collective manifestation of “consensus” upon this one point.

For the manner of such manifestation, I propose—

1. Meetings in London in November—I say meetings because I want two meetings on same day, either simultaneously, or morning and evening; and, if I can, in Exeter Hall and in St James’ Hall.
2. Not English Church Union Meetings for obvious reasons; but in hearty and closest concurrence on both sides, in respect of the one purpose of Meeting. No Legislation in matter of Prayer Book.
3. Chairmen, Laymen, as big and good as can be had.
4. Speakers Lay and Clerical.
5. English Church Union organisation available if wanted to promote pressure upon Parliament.

If we shut out all Legislation, preliminary and other, it will be well, for we are winning slowly but surely. There are and will be, of course, killed and wounded on our side, as in every real battle, but that is small matter. If we do not shut out, once for all, all manner of Legislation, it will be, not well but ill. I believe that there is no room to doubt that there will be found a much larger consensus upon the ground of No Legislation than upon any other.

If arts of Bishops and silliness of Priests, as taking formal shape in Provincial Synod, persist in aiming at Legislation, arts and silliness must be met and disposed of.

“When once the confidence is gone
Which public faith imparts,
'Tis time for innocence to fly
From such deceitful arts.”

—*Tate and Brady.*

Now, then, let us pull together as we have done, heart and hand.

To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 5th September 1879.

A month's experience of men's minds pretty generally has decided me to go forward. It is difficult for me to look upon any meddling with Prayer Book at this time as anything else than a signal for almost immediate disruption.

It is the only opportunity within my vision of getting at least some considerable concurrence of "High" and "Low" Church.

The promoters of alteration are playing with every card into the hands of Broad Church and Roman Catholic.

The attempt to legislate is *in esse*. The materials for alteration are, for the most part, ready to hand.

If there are those who are content to rely on the chapter of accidents, and a kind of guerilla warfare in such a matter as this, I am not one of them.

I hardly like to approach Gladstone myself in the matter—I am hardly warranted in doing so—but I am very desirous that he should see the enclosed with this letter.

My mind is lighter now that I have made it up. But any strong support lightens not a little the burden of responsibility.

8th September 1879.

I have quite made up my mind to hold the meetings—I do not apprehend any real difficulty in managing them with a decent Chairman. I remember well upon more than one occasion in my life—specially the occasion of the Gorham Meeting—being argued with and counselled with, and cold-watered upon all hands to stop meeting; but persisting to the extent of saying at last to Committee—If you, after all this delay, do not decide upon holding the meeting this afternoon, I shall take it all into my own hands to-morrow. Upon this they succumbed, and when it had been held, thanked me very much for making them hold it. I will trust that men will support me at this crisis; at all events, I am going to give them the opportunity.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 6th September 1879.

It is curious how judgments differ.

I hold Bishop of Carlisle's Bill¹ to be about the worst part of the whole attempt, to say nothing of its being the only part formally complete at this time, and the preliminary step.

You will see what I think of it in detail when I have pulled it to bits at Wells Conference, 21st October. 24th October, I have to deal with the rest of the matter at Taunton.

To leave out Resolution III.² is "Hamlet" without Hamlet. If you want to put out a fire when it has been allowed to get head, that is one thing. If you want to prevent it getting head at all, that is another thing. I see no possible safety except in the latter course, and certainly no prospect at all of "Evangelical" concurrence without dealing summarily with the Bill.

York representation is less bad than Canterbury, but still wholly inadequate as respects proportion of Bishops, Deans, Archdeacons, Chapter Proctors, to representatives of Parochial Clergy.

Bath hesitates—Selborne declines—have written to Carnarvon—am writing to Shaftesbury. Then come Chichester, Hatherley, Dartmouth—you seem to say—not Devon—but I should greatly like to have him—and I suppose I may hope for him as a speaker if not as a Chairman. . . .

¹ Right Rev. Harvey Goodwin. A Bill for enabling the Convocations to make new Rubrics, subject to their not being vetoed by either House of Parliament.

² I. That it is not at the present time expedient to alter the Prayer Book.

II. That if at any future time such alteration be contemplated, the Lower Houses of the Convocations of Canterbury and York require first to be made adequate representations of the Clergy of the two provinces.

III. That, without pronouncing any opinion upon the Bill laid upon table of House of Lords by the Bishop of Carlisle, yet, inasmuch as it contemplates Legislation at this time upon concurrent advice of Convocations as now constituted, this meeting cannot approve of the said Bill.

IV. That a Declaration embodying the above Resolutions be now adopted by this meeting, and circulated for general signature by Churchmen,

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 14th September 1879.

It tries me sorely not to be able to go with you in this matter ; but it is quite impossible. If I did not go directly and specially against Bishop of Carlisle's Bill, I should not think it worth while to move at all.

The Bill is—

1. A Bill betraying its purposes and tendencies by the time and circumstances under which it has been framed and proposed, and also by the character of what is proposed to be done under it.
2. It is built all through upon huge fallacies, and is—
(a) Delusive, (b) dangerous, (c) one-sided, and (d) misleading.

It is, moreover, the one formal step actually taken towards meddling with Prayer Book by existing Convocations. Pat it, or any like Bill, on the back, and the rest will follow quickly.

It may be quite probable, and I think is, that the Bill has no prospect of becoming law. But that is no reason against exposing and dragging to light its true character. It would be a policy not only undignified, but quite unworthy of the subject matter and the occasion, to trust in such a case to the chapter of accidents, and such miserable things as leading articles in *Times*, etc., and to a merely secular policy.

What is wanted for the Church's sake is not to "shelve" the Bill—what is wanted is to "knock it on the head" with a direct and straightforward blow.

If I am enabled to be of any help to this I shall rejoice thankfully. If I cannot I fold my hands and wait my time. I see little or nothing left for me to do publicly.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 17th September 1879.

Excuse my feelings. I think you are all gone stark mad about this wretched Bill.

It reminds me that when I had to move and carry at the meeting in London the Resolution which issued in the

defeat of Gladstone at Oxford, I had first to say to the meeting of some thirty M.P.'s and other eminent personages, some fifty men—

“Gentlemen, I have not the honour of knowing many of you, but you will allow me to say, that if you are going to pass the Resolution just put into my hands, I think you must all be mad.”

That Resolution fell to the ground thereupon ; and in three minutes mine was carried *nem. con.*

I have found the same thing in substance on two other if not three public occasions in my life.

So, if I am left alone to take the Chair myself I shall take it, and tell the meetings why.

To Walter Phillimore, Esq.¹

1st October 1879.

I do not pheasant shoot this morning. I have other birds in hand.

Resolution paper enclosed reports progress. General concurrence in the move is very large, and accumulating daily.

I am collecting speakers. I mean to have chiefly laity, with a sprinkling of “principal men” among Clergy. I am writing to Liddon to-day.

It may be true, as some “comfortable people” say, that there is no immediate danger. But, if the observation be worth anything—which, in such a subject matter, and in the actual conditions of the case, I don’t think it is—it seems to me only an additional and cogent reason for *concentrating all strength* upon disposing of an insidious and far advanced attempt.

As I drew Resolution III. it signified simple disapproval of the Bill, which is my own clear judgment. I modified it slightly to meet C. Wood. It has taken its final shape at Lord Devon’s request, Lord Nelson concurring.

I felt first that I had many others to consider besides myself in making arrangements for a united move ; and, second, that before the meetings are held, I shall have

¹ His nephew, only son of Sir R. Phillimore, Bart., now Hon. Mr Justice Phillimore.

public opportunity—of which I shall avail myself to the full—at our Diocesan Conference, Wells and Taunton, 21st and 24th October, for delivering all my mind upon the Bill.¹

Meantime I print for private circulation and use 1000 copies of enclosed paper, giving some brief summary of my objections to, and judgment upon, the Bill.

Now, dear Walter, I want you very much among the speakers—please don't say "No"—say "Yes," like a good boy; and which meeting, and which Resolution. I shall have to cut speakers down to not many minutes, and have as many good ones as I can get. I suppose I must not ask your dear father—and yet to have him would be for us all, and for me specially, very good and comfortable.

I have had correspondence—very pleasant all of it, and amusing withal—with heads of Evangelical Section. Deans of Gloucester, Ripon, Ryle, Miller, Shaftesbury, Selborne, the last is a "legist" *pur et simple*, as his brother the Archdeacon is. For the others they hate Convocations—they detest the Bill; but they want alterations of their own in Prayer Book and of nobody's else. And so, with most loving expressions to me personally, they decline to act with me. I sit and laugh over the letters, and amuse myself hugely. I expect in two or three weeks to have pulled together a great army. I chuckle to myself at finding myself at end of my life walking into Exeter Hall. Discourse to your dear father. I have written to ask Gladstone to speak.

To Walter Phillimore, Esq.

EAST BRENT, 6th October 1879.

Very glad of your letter.

You will have easily seen that the Resolutions are "drawn very mild," more for others than for myself, as I was bound to draw them.

There is a "requirement" of the "spirit" as well as of the "letter." "Should be" expresses the first in a degree, but

¹ A Bill intituled an Act to provide Facilities for the Amendment, from time to time, of the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England, introduced by the Right Rev. Harvey Goodwin, Bishop of Carlisle.

hardly with sufficient strength, having regard to the gravity of the case. The Convocations are morally quite unfit to exercise their right of inheritance. They "require first" to be "amended" a thousand times more than the Book which they take in hand to "amend."

However, if any one move in the meeting "should be" instead of "require," the meeting should decide which it will have. I think it will hold to "require."

"The family" has not been largely connected with these matters in any public way, and this makes me cling the more to those with whom I find myself in all general accord, of our number now so reduced.

I get an account of Lincoln Diocesan Conference this morning 76—to 73—against the Bill, *i.e.* in the sense of my Resolution II. So far so well.

The Resolutions must stand now, indeed I do not think if they were not published I could alter them any more. Nobody yet besides yourselves has taken any exception to Resolution II.

Resolution III. I watered down sorely against my will. But as I take precious good care to guard myself in particular, I let myself go, to meet other's wishes as far as I could. I am going to pull the Bill into small bits at Wells.

After all the necessary restrictions as to order of meeting in the paper enclosed, the argument against touching Prayer Book is very various and cogent.

I should much like to ride about upon a like pony, or "pone" as we say in Somerset. For walking is not very easy with me now. Markets going up a bit—the cheese fiasco and muddle has come fairly to light, as I told them publicly it would two years ago, in warning them that the ruin of the trade was coming from their copying the Americans in making a bad article for speedy sale by artificial drying. It is now commonly said that the American and factory cheese stinks after a little keeping, and it is quite true. A real Cheddar cheese should not be touched under twelve months. They have been making them to eat in six weeks by artificial drying, chemicals, etc., and so they stink, and at end of twelve months it is a race between the man and the maggots.

A principal dealer wholesale in these parts said yesterday:

"Archdeacon Denison were quite right two years ago; we have found of it now."

I am eating a cheese in this house eighteen months old

as sound and sweet as the day it was made, a first-rate Cheddar cheese. But then it was never dried by any artificial process for sake of turning money quick. Turning money quick is the ruin of trade in things like cheese and in a good many other things too.

I shall put down your two good names, we can arrange as you like afterwards.

After all the necessary restrictions as to order of meeting in the smaller of the two papers enclosed, the argument against touching Prayer Book is very *various* and *urgent*. I should much like your dear father to find time to read this letter.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 15th October 1879.

I tried Sir W. Farquhar, but he is gone or going abroad for a daughter's health, and is, I gather, shaky about Ornaments Rubric. Better without shaky men.

I have done what I could to make my papers at Wells and Taunton a Manual upon this matter, having watched closely the plot for amending Prayer Book for fifteen years.

Now that the ugly bird has poked its head out of the shell, we have to put our heel upon its head.

It is only weak, I think, to talk about leaving Bill to be quashed in Parliament. What we have to do is to prevent its being proposed for discussion in Parliament. It will be nothing but an unseemly and rude rebuff which the proposal would receive. It never had a chance of receiving anything else. Now let us see if we cannot save the Church the rebuff. It won't do anybody any good to let it be received if we can anyway help it.

Beresford Hope is one of your Squashing-in-Parliament men as yet, but I don't give up persuading him. Woodard, Sir Percival Heywood, James Parker, etc., are among speakers; we want men who can—

1. Say what they want to say in not many minutes.
2. Who know what they are about.
3. Who can keep people alive.

I want to say as little at the meetings myself as I can manage.

I shall have said my say at Wells and Taunton, and have published and circulated it.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 26th October 1879.

It would be ridiculously unreal that though not in the Chair, you should not speak for us—would disarm nobody, and would harm us. So please say “yes,” and which meeting¹ and which Resolution. I am collecting Lay speakers fast, only sprinkling of Clergy—few minutes for each mostly.

Country well alive. I have at present, besides London, Oxford, Cambridge, Derby, Bradford, Leeds, York, Leicester, on hand before end of November.

Beresford Hope, Hubbard, and a few others, lay and cleric, weary me much. I know of no worse policy than leaving the Bill to be crushed in Parliament. It should be so handled as to be pulled out of Parliament into which it ought never to have got. But a plot of fifteen years’ public hatching, and a good many previous years’ private hatching, takes something to kill.

Hope and Hubbard, as regards myself, have forgotten the lesson I had to read them and others at time of Gorham Meeting.

After end of November I bring what is left of me home to rest awhile.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 2nd December 1879.

Pusey has sent me his signature to Declaration, with accentuation of II. as follows—

“But that, moreover, since the Prayer Book is, under GOD, the bond of union of the English Church, it would be inexpedient to propose changes until GOD shall bring its members to one mind.”

The fact of the signature is most valuable; the accentuation of greatest weight.

I think both ought to be made as widely and publicly known as possible.

¹ On 13th November 1879, two public meetings were held at Exeter Hall, and St James’ Hall, to oppose any alteration in the Prayer Book. The declaration, addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, received 50,000 signatures.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
14th July 1880.

Great gathering at Lambeth this morning. No discussion. Some sixty-five in chapel; some eighty or more at breakfast. So great a storm that we could not hear one another in Convocation from the rain only, then great lightning and thunder. Over now.

Going on with movement for increase of Proctors of Clergy.¹ It seems in a state of some progress. The move, if taken, will include the manner of election. My paper will therefore go into the general mass of material to be discussed; and it is better that it should do so.

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
15th July 1880.

Public matters in a hopeless condition. I think Gladstone will in the end be left with very small sympathy or cordial support.

Those who vote with him are afraid of him to excess, and the Whigs, as I always thought they must be, are very hardly kept with him. Several have already split away openly. I see small cheer on any side.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 25th July 1880.

It will be just like Conservatives, whom I love as little as I do Liberals, *qua* party, if they throw the Church overboard to save their nuggets, and their difficulties at next election, or one of them.

I don't see what is to stop, sooner or later, all the irreparable mischief of Burials Bill. So far as Civil Power is concerned, it has made the cup run over, which was

¹ Increase of representation of the Clergy in Convocation by adding to the number of Diocesan Proctors.

already filled to the brim. If it open Churchmen's eyes to their own condition and their own desecration of Churchyards by indiscriminate burying, to which they have necessarily come through disregard and contempt of Godly Discipline, it will not indeed make the Bill less a sin against the Church, but it will help to get some repentance and faithfulness by occasion of a vicious thing done. I don't say it will compensate. I believe nothing can compensate, but it will be in one sense a starting-point for better things.

Our present position in respect of Burial is about as false and unworthy as a position can be; and as for the poor stuff that is talked about a Clergyman refusing the service, or part of it, in a case however bad, when he has done nothing to bring the offender under spiritual censure while living, it is not worthy of a moment's consideration except to condemn it. The new Convocation has re-appointed the Committee upon exclusion from Holy Communion which I got appointed by late Convocation. I had made dear Miller Chairman, but he did nothing.

I am Chairman now, and I mean to apply myself carefully this autumn and winter, if I live, to going in report into the whole position in respect of Discipline.

I know no matter calling for deeper and more exact attention.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 19th August 1880.

Twenty-three years ago, in my Charge, 1857, I went into the matter of the false position in which the Church was placed by the practical discarding of Discipline by Churchmen generally, almost universally. The Charge attracted notice at the time—like other gravest things in England,—for a week or two.

I am now hard at work upon my Draft Report upon Discipline. I want, if I may, to make it a basis for some steady and active exertion on the part of Convocation and of English Church Union.

I hope to be able to send you a copy for your private consideration and comment in some ten days or a fortnight's time.

I am getting it forward for first consideration by

Members of Committee, before calling them together, and am anxious to leave as few holes to pull at as I may. It will be first submitted to others, "experts" legally, and to one or two experts—ecclesiastical, lay, and clerical.

I referred to the matter in speaking in Convocation last Sessions, as a primary point in our position of defect and unreality. Also of just retribution upon us; on the other hand, the sin of this Bill and the question of the manner of our dealing with it are quite another question.

I have said all along that, what English Church Union had to do was—

1. To protest emphatically against the principle of the Bill.¹
2. To do everything energetically against its passing at all.
3. To abstain carefully from every manner of attempt to amend it, because this would be nothing else than protesting against principle and accepting principle at one and the same moment.

Others of us looked at the matter differently—the result is the false position of English Church Union. We should have been beat in Parliament any way—in my judgment, a comparatively small matter. As it is, we are beat; and we are in the false position too.

What is to be done now? I think two things—

1. The giving up once for all, all care about political and Parliamentary chances, prospects, issues.
2. Energetically and steadily taking up the Discipline platform.

To the Right Hon. Sir Robert Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 12th September 1880.

I have done what I could of my own hand and head to the Draft Report which I send you by this post.

I found it not possible to compress it into smaller dimensions; and I may have omitted things as it is.

But it is a subject which has exercised me greatly for some thirty years more or less; and I see no conclusion to come to upon it, in its general aspect, than that to which I have come.

¹ Burials Bill.

For the particular matter of *Jenkins v. Cook*, my judgment is what it has been from the day the Judgment of Court of Final Appeal was given, save only that a more exact and careful searching into facts of case has intensified my disgust as against those who allowed themselves to give that Judgment, and my deep regret that it was received by the Church generally with such cool indifference.

But it is a hard matter to get English Churchmen to make a stand upon principle—they live, so to speak, in connection with most sacred things, from hand to mouth.

It may probably be the last Report I shall draw for Convocation, and upon all grounds I am anxious about it.

To Mrs G. Denison

NEVARCHÉ, LEICESTER,¹
29th September 1880.

I believe I have succeeded on all hands in making the proposed meeting of English Church Union in November to be a meeting exclusively for promotion of revival of Discipline, as the one thing to be turned to, to mend and help the position, and this evening I am going to speak upon it, my one speech in Congress in Congress Hall.

President's² address yesterday in many places very grand, with some blemishes. When we parted last night I told him how it had moved me. He made a very hearty and kindly answer, and said he supposed he should catch it from the *Times*, and hoped he should. I could not let him go with thinking I liked it all, and said that there were here and there things in it which *Times* would like, but much more it would not.

To Mrs G. Denison

LEICESTER, 30th September 1880.

I spoke about Discipline last night. It enabled me to disclaim emphatically all manner of assault upon Non-conformists and Dissenters, and to confine myself simply to the failure of Churchmen.

¹ Church Congress held at Leicester in 1880.

² Right Rev. G. Magee, Bishop of Peterborough.

It was therefore very well and kindly taken, though, as I expected, not enthusiastically. The Church saint strives to kick—however desperately and unwillingly; the Dissenter's mind does not grasp it in all its depth, though I think it goes deeper than the Churchman's mind into it at present.

Every single person I have spoken to privately upon it—a great number—wholly agree with me that it is the only thing to be done.

To Miss Phillimore

8th October 1880.

All the wrong that has been done at other times and now to the Church by the Civil Power is always sheltered under "Majesty of Law."

"Majesty of Conscience" does not enter into brain of Civil Power as respects the Churchman, though there be any amount of it you please as respects the Nonconformists and the Dissenter. Bishop of Lincoln even talks of Incumbents resigning if they cannot obey the Law. It is all as might be expected that those who are in no position to suffer for conscience sake should counsel those who are to put "Law" above conscience.

And, besides, to resign would be simply to condemn the basis upon which you take your stand, that of obeying the Church rather than Parliament.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 21st October 1880.

I have just read report of your speech at Bristol. It confirms the anticipation which, with great sorrow of heart, I expressed at the close of my official letter sent to Hardy yesterday for transmission to yourself, and reading to Council at their first meeting after recess.

I read your language with all admiration, and, if possible, with increase of personal affection for you. I put it side by side with the policy that has governed English Church Union, through its Council, as respects Burials Act, and I cannot reconcile the two. Let me instance one

point only. If—as I hold you to say truly—the presence of Mr Bradlaugh in House of Commons absolutely disqualifies Parliament from dealing with internal matters of Church of England, Mr Bradlaugh was in House of Commons, carried into it by Gladstone's never-to-be-forgotten fallacy about there being no law against him, the most flagrant fallacy on record, when Burials Act was discussed and passed; and English Church Union made no sign worthy of its position or of the subject matter in peril.

What am I to do? I wring my hands, and am sore at heart. I am compelled to affirm that English Church Union at its centre has failed of doing its duty. It is no question at all, in any such or like case, of what could be effected—this is the language of temporal policy—it is a question of what ought to have been done without reference to issues at all.

If English Church Union is to be guided by consideration of temporal issue it had much better be dissolved.

In a word, not to trouble your kind heart with repeating myself, I find myself opposed to you irreconcilably as to the manner of maintaining Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England. Our co-operation, therefore, has come to a close of necessity, and by way of natural sequence. You will have more with you than I shall have with me. But all experience of my life shows that this is nothing new as respects myself. But that the time has come which forces me to say it gives me pain which I cannot put into words. God keep you. Do not think harder of me than you can help. I am well persuaded you will not.

To Mrs G. Denison

ST JAMES' HALL,
18th November, 7.40 P.M.

Exeter Hall¹—a great success; four-fifths full—fuller than any one expected; excellent speaking. Every Resolution carried unanimously; all full of great kindness towards me, and I am much congratulated upon all hands.

¹ Archdeacon Denison moved the Second Resolution pledging English Church Union “to support all Clergy who may be suspended, deprived, or imprisoned for refusing obedience to the Privy Council and Courts subject to its jurisdiction.” Occasion: the imprisonment of the Rev. T. Pelham Dale, of St Vedast's, in the city.

This meeting crowded; speaking again excellent, a wonderful heartiness—so far nothing whatsoever but what there is the deepest cause to thank God for. . . .

The whole thing, morning and evening, even a larger “success” than I had all along expected it to be. Everybody highly pleased. Am going up to see C. Wood this morning at English Church Union to settle about Circulation of Declaration, and then this part of the work is done, so far.

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
18th November 1880.

The Irish Trouble—if so small a word may be used about it—has brought Government into very heavy difficulty. The differences in Cabinet as to the manner of dealing with it being very wide.

I have never been able, as you know, to see any end to the trouble. We are paying the price of long years of most atrocious misgovernment and tyranny, presenting themselves under the two aspects which lie nearest to men's hearts: Property and Religion issuing in one point, that of Confiscation. This is a sort of thing that a people does not forget, and if it wanted anything to keep it alive, that thing is to be found in the Orange Element, so pervading in North of Ireland.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 7th December 1880.

I could not bring myself to think that things would go easily with us. Long past neglect and indifference always has its retribution; and the Church Catholic in England is yet a very long way behind.

We do not know, as you say, what is best for us; we have always to be learning it against many influences.

St Augustine says of the disciples on St John xiv. 4.

“Sciebant, sed se scire nesciebant.”

What we have attained to is through suffering, the lesson we all have to learn in its length and breadth and depth.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

WATERPERRY,
OXFORD, 7th February 1881.

I have just been reading your very valuable February 1881 letter; the pinch is where you come to your remedy. I cannot go along with it, nor do I believe the Priesthood will generally. If they do, it will be to hand over the Church's Doctrine and Discipline in the last resort to the Bench of Bishops. This is precisely what was so well objected to in 1850. Nor can I see how the logic coheres. You instance "general assembly"—your parallel is "the two Convocations." But you proceed effectively and substantially to place the entire decision finally in the hands of the Bishops. In my belief it is impossible to accept this, even with all your safeguards about joint Committees and consultations. First, on the ground of all our experience; second, because it is to stereotype a confusion between the Bishop of a Church not established by Law, and the Bishop of a Church established by Law.

In the first the Bishop is the final appeal, subject always to Canon.

In the second, the Bishop is not the final appeal—the final appeal is to the law of Church and Realm.

The interpreters of this law, when occasion arises, are the Synods. What we want is a vote of the two entire Convocations, not a vote of Bishops only.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
10th February 1881.

Last evening things got into a terrible mess. At dinner afterwards at Bishop of Ely's,¹ with Bishop of Truro² and a number of our House, we had over three hours' debate upon what should be proposed, and came at length in eight lines to an unanimous conclusion.

I then proposed, as I had earlier in the discussion, that

¹ Right Rev. J. R. Woodford.

² Right Rev. E. W. Benson.

Canon Wilkinson should have charge of the Amendment,¹ and I asked him to communicate in the morning with Hopkins,² Gregory, and Harrison, who were primarily concerned.

Happily we all met at the Cloister's Gate, and all came to one proposal with one mind.

The minority in the House are, of course, making their hard fight this morning. But they are only a minority at the best, and now that the threatening trouble of last night has been got over, I cannot doubt that we shall carry well what we have agreed upon as the only thing which will help our friends in the Upper House, or, at least, will best help them.

I was much struck with Bishop of Truro, and greatly pleased. He was most kind and courteous to me, and went out of his way to show it.

I have never sat in this House with a deeper sense of what the crisis is, than I sit here to-day. Butler is now making a most excellent speech. Bright, also very excellent.

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
11th February 1881.

I wrote from the House last night when all was done, but it must have been too late.

Dined with Gregory and was fetched by Lucy for Lambeth. Archbishop as always, specially kind.

I believe, so far, all has been well done, and a good foundation laid, under God—all the tone and feeling, with rare exceptions, very good, and our majority a decisive one—65 to 20.

There is, I see, to be a Royal Commission,³ and progress made towards "Reform in Convocation," but what this will come to I cannot yet see—at least it will get rid of the undoubted grievance of great preponderance of *ex officio* members, and will be so far good.

We shall have, I think, to build a Convocation House.

¹ On the question of Rubrics.

² Canon of Ely.

³ On Ecclesiastical Courts.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
12th February 1881.

I want to leave with you my general impression of the amount of our this week's experience.

In Lower House we have said—about as much as we are in a position to say. Our main defect is that we have not spoken out against the Courts, and of this the Upper House have, as might be expected, taken every advantage.

In Upper House I do not see that anything has been gained, rather the reverse, nor do I see what a Royal Commission will have to do. To put it in few words, I do not see what the meeting and the voice of Convocation has gained in respect of the principles for which we are contending, and must contend, to the end.

Nor do I see that it has added any outer strength to our position. The shrinking from the imprisonment was not a religious but a social shrinking. It would have existed in undiminished strength all the same, if Convocation had never met.¹

I see no word of any shrinking from deprivation after three years. What then, I want to know, has Convocation effected? The answer is—Nothing. It has added its voice to what was before stereotyped, viz. that imprisonment must be got rid of somehow or other.

It has not insisted even upon equitable dealing. It has not recorded its protest against the Courts.

What then has it really done? I think that, if we are in earnest, we must look this question full in the face, and shape our action accordingly.

For I am persuaded that it is only to delude ourselves to say that we have really gained anything, except in that shrinking from imprisonment which is the natural offspring of the action of our opponents and of the general temper of the English mind. It has been all the week “much cry and little wool,” and I go away with a painful sense of time and energies wasted, and without any real profit.

¹ This letter refers to the Priests' Petition “against the imprisonment of Priests by Courts Ecclesiastical.”

*Some Brief Account of Proceedings in Convocation of
Canterbury, 8th-11th February 1881.*

EAST BRENT, 16th February 1881.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

Leaving London last Saturday, 12th, I tried to think out what had been *done* last week in Convocation.

I could not, and cannot, satisfy myself that anything has been done beyond the endorsement by the two Houses, formally and informally, of a *foregone* conclusion arrived at on the part of the public mind. The conclusion that imprisonment is not the way to carry out the sentence of a true Court Ecclesiastical. *A fortiori*, not of a false one.

No doubt there is also deprecation of legal proceedings in matter of Ceremonial. But this again is only an endorsement of *foregone* conclusion on the part of the public mind generally, Ritualistic, and non-Ritualistic.

But if the Courts are to remain, and, if not to *imprison*, still to *deprive* in respect of Ceremonial based upon the "Ornaments Rubric" (and I find little, if anything, said in either House against their so remaining and acting; the Archbishop indeed is reported as assuming, and this in the face of the Priests' Petition, that there had been nothing said against the Courts and their law), I say, if the Courts and their law are to remain as they are, *Cui bono* last week's Convocation of Canterbury?

Again, as matters stand, I misdoubt altogether the working and the issue of a Royal Commission.

If then I am asked what has been gained in substance, what progress really made toward the righteous and equitable administration of the law of "this Church and Realm" by the proceedings in Convocation last week, my answer is that nothing of this nature has been gained, and no progress made.

And I go on to add that there can be nothing gained or any progress made so long as the Courts and their law remain as they are now.—So long as the finding of the Court above in matter of Doctrine, or of Ceremonial, or of Discipline, is held to be the true, or even an allowable, interpretation of the Law of "this Church and Realm."—So long as the Court of Lord Penzance continues to exist.

It was the settled persuasion that time, money, energies,

resolutions, are all thrown away in and out of Convocation, until Churchmen shall have applied themselves *primarily* and *principally* to the reconstitution of the (so-called) Courts Ecclesiastical, which, with their law, lie at the root of the entire evil in its practical aspect; it was this persuasion that issued in the Priests' Appeal and Petition to Convocation agreed upon 18th January at the Westminster Palace Hotel.

For it was impossible, in our judgment, to regard the Memorial issued from St Paul's and addressed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, as satisfying the exigencies of the case. It refers indeed to the Courts and their law; but, if I remember rightly, it does not take its stand upon the necessity of first getting rid of the primary and paramount abuse, which is the existence and the administration of the present *de facto* Courts Ecclesiastical.

Again, the Memorial asks for "toleration." Toleration of what? Of obedience to the written law of "this Church and Realm." Now a Mormon may ask for toleration in "free England," and I suppose he would get it, when a Catholic does not. But what room is there amongst us for a Catholic to ask for toleration at all? It "goes without saying," if it goes at all.

Again, the Memorial asks for toleration of things Catholic—aye Anglo-Catholic things—at the hands of Anglo-Catholic Archbishops and Bishops. Now—to say nothing of the curiously illogical position here exemplified—it has to be observed that it *is not* our Archbishops and Bishops who are *the interpreters* of the law of "this Church and Realm." It *is* the Synods of the Church (of which indeed the Archbishops and Bishops are a primary and principal element, but of which they are not the whole) which are the interpreters, as need may arise. The passage in the Preface to the Prayer Book so often cited in behalf of the Diocesan and the Archbishop, has not, as indeed it *cannot* have in a Church established by law, any application whatsoever to Ceremonial, any more than it has to Doctrine; as any one may easily see who will take the trouble to read it with its context, and with the rest of the Preface, carefully.

In a Church established by law of the land Archbishop and Bishop is *under that law* just as much as the Priest is, and cannot go about explaining it away off the face of the Prayer Book at his discretion. The passage in the Preface gives a power to Diocesan and Archbishop in respect of the "Language and Order" of the Service in case of doubt.

It gives no such power in respect of Ceremonial.¹ That has been concluded by, and shut up in the "Ornaments Rubric," first, in respect of the "Ornaments" of the Church; second, in respect of the "Ornaments" of the Minister.

There are those who say that the "Ornaments Rubric" is vague and dark. That is, it is too definite and clear for them.

But Archbishops and Bishops have, not unnaturally, laid hold of a construction of the passage in the Preface, noways indeed either logical or legitimate, but lying on the surface of a loose and careless reading.

It is worth while to remind Churchmen that, when, in 1850, Bishop Blomfield introduced into the House of Lords his Bill for amendment of the Court of Final Appeal in matters Ecclesiastical, and proposed a Court consisting of Archbishops and Bishops, he was met at once by the lay Peers with the objection which defeated the Bill, viz.—

That this would enable the Archbishops and Bishops, for the time being, to pronounce what is, and what is not the Doctrine and the Discipline of the Church of England.

I commend the objection to the Churchmen of 1881.

There has been little time for signature of the Priests' Appeal and Petition to the Synod. But some seven hundred Priests have signed. I earnestly hope many hundreds more will send their signature.

The document lays *the one sound basis* of all amendment as between the Church and the Civil Power. To be content to proceed upon any other basis is only to be deluded, and to delude.

I am not forgetting what has been said formally and informally in both our Houses last week on the side of truth and equity, in the face of a good deal of which this character cannot be predicated. It is in the right direction. But it is a long way off from what has not only to be said, but acted upon steadily *as the one true basis* of any reasonable Concordat between the Church and the Civil Power for time to come.

I mean the Re-formation of the Courts Ecclesiastical above and below; with the virtual repudiation of their Law as at present declared in respect of the Ceremonial

¹ Compare part of Preface, next following :—"Of Ceremonies, why some be abolished, and some retained." There is no word of any "discretion" of Archbishop or Bishop here to allow or disallow.

of the Blessed Sacrament ; and generally, in respect of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Sacraments.

I repeat that, as the matter has been left at our Prorogation, 12th February 1881, the position is, *in all its substance*, the same as it was before Convocation met 8th February 1881.

I subjoin Copy of Appeal and Petition.¹

Yours always affectionately,

GEORGE ANTHONY DENISON.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

WATERPERRY,
OXFORD, 17th February 1881.

I have often been told that I am wanting in the organ of hope, and perhaps the present is an instance.

All that we have gained—if we have gained anything substantially, which I do not think we have—has been from fear and disgust at imprisonment, as tested by the social measure.

It may very well be that a straightforward move against the Courts, their constitution, and their administration, would not have carried so many votes in our House ; and perhaps I am very much to be blamed in that, having presented the Priests' Petition, I did not proceed to give notice of motion founded upon it.

As matters have been left at our prorogation I am constrained to think that our position is not satisfying, in that it rests upon an unsound basis : one that ought first to be discussed till it is shaken to pieces and confessed to be

¹ *Appeal and Petition of Priests of the Church of England to the Two Houses of Convocation of Canterbury, adopted by a Private Meeting of Priests at the Westminster Palace Hotel, Tuesday, 18th January 1881,*

SHEWETH,—

That the imprisonment of three Priests of the Church of England, and the deprivation of a fourth, for refusal to acknowledge as lawful the authority of the Court inflicting these penalties, have forced upon the public mind the necessity of an answer to the question—Does the Court possess Constitutional authority?

Your Petitioners submit that the Court, as at present constituted, cannot possess such authority ; inasmuch as Parliament has created by its sole act, without the previous and formal joint consent of the Convocations of Canterbury and York, the new Judge in causes

rotten from top to bottom. For Royal Commission¹ I misdoubt and misgive it not a little. In sum—looking at House of Lords, House of Commons, Houses of Convocation, I am persuaded that the utmost we are going to get, if we get anything, is a miserable sufferance, having its source in fear and disgust, and in nothing else.

Perhaps even this is more than what we should have had if duly punished for the past.

I quite think with B. that if we could get a rule of Ritual—an uniform rule—not vague and extravagant, but simple and dignified, it would be a great thing to get. But I do not hope to see it, or approach made towards it.

To the Rev. Canon Liddon

EAST BRENT, 9th April 1881.

For Royal Commission I lost no time, as soon as I heard of it, in saying publicly that it was most patently a delusion, trap, snare, stultification.

Ecclesiastical, with right of succession to the Deanery of Arches and Chancellorship of York; and that therefore such Court lacks that joint authority from "this Church and Realm" which is required by the principles of the Reformation Settlement, restored in 1662; which joint authority, and none other, the Priest is pledged by his Ordination Vow to obey.

Your Petitioners submit further, that, so far as respects matters of the Law Divine, the Jurisdiction of the Court above, by the decisions of which the Court below is bound, is not agreeable to any true and reasonable account of the Constitution in "Church and State."

Now therefore we, the undersigned, Priests of the Church of England, do hereby make our Appeal to the Two Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury, which, with the two Houses of the Convocation of York, are "the Church of England by representation"; and humbly pray that no time be lost, and no endeavour spared to obtain redress of the wrong under which Priests of the Church of England are now suffering: and such constitution, under the Supremacy of the Crown, of Courts Spiritual, as would command the willing obedience of loyal Churchmen.

WE FURTHER PRAY,—

That, pending the Constitution of such Courts, no proceedings at law be allowed by the several Diocesans of the Province of Canterbury to be taken against the use of Ceremonies adopted under Sanction of the "Ornaments Rubric"; and that no attempt be entertained to repeal or to modify the "Ornaments Rubric."

And your Petitioners will ever pray.

Signed, by order of the Meeting,

GEORGE ANTHONY DENISON, *Chairman.*

On the Ecclesiastical Courts.

I see that very many are beginning to use the same language about it. It is curious and not pleasant to find that there is no class of men so easy to gull as "High Churchmen." I have found it so by experience of many years.

If I could resolve it into an ingenuous simplicity (which I cannot) there would be little to complain of. As it is, there is very much—so much as invariably to issue in our being beaten all along the line ignominiously.

I wish from my heart we had never from the first touched a Law Court. It seems to me now that it was, and is, absurd to suppose of any Law Court existing, or to exist, in England, that it is or will be capable of giving a Catholic judgment.

And if it were so capable, it is by no means clear to me that it would not have affected the general position injuriously rather than beneficially. We had much better, I think, have "sat still" and suffered.

For E.C.U. I grieve to say that from the time of the dealing by the Council with the Burials Act, I have lost confidence in the executive of E.C.U.

You will laugh when I say that I have done fighting—I have been beaten all along the line, and I lie down to be trampled upon by any so minded.

My chief "success" is in hatching salmon, trout, char and ducks. It is more pleasant and more profitable than spending time, money, energies, in and about those unhappy things called Meetings and Resolutions, and I must needs add, Convocations.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
18th May 1881.

Business crowds upon us so fast that it is becoming every day more clearly the case that the work of Convocation cannot be done within the very limited time for which we assemble in each group of Sessions. I suggest to some of my friends not so old as myself, that a move should be made and vigorously prosecuted; all will fall into utter confusion.

I am thankful to say that I have just stopped a proposal that the Upper House should be moved to put forward a

revision of the Welsh version of the New Testament in accordance with that of the English, on the ground that this would involve the House in some approval of the English revision. The House is very glad that I have saved it from so great a blunder.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
19th May 1881.

We are in the midst of a most important debate upon the question of the proposal to tamper with the means of admission into House of Commons, now before the country.

We have carried by 47 to 30 that Canon Morris' proposal to make remonstrance and *Articulus Cleri* be debated with the view of so making it. He is now speaking, and speaking very well. Thank God, we have carried the *Articulus Cleri* without a division. 1.40. Launched now into Cathedral Reforms Committee Report. Voluminous and difficult, with fourteen Resolutions. Oh dear me! poor me. I fold the hands of humility over the stomach of emptiness. Am going to luncheon with dear old Jennings.

In short, the business of Convocation perpetually multiplying, cannot be decently done without a much longer time being given for consideration of the many matters submitted to it.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 5th August 1881.

I am single-handed here, with eight Celebrations a week, and seventeen other services, also Parish care, and almost too hot to stir. So I cannot come to special Council. But let me say this. I think we have had enough, and more than enough, of what is called, but is not, "Law," and that our true remedy is where I believe it has been all along, in "suffering for Christ's sake," if need be, "all things" unto the end.

As for turning John Bull into a Catholic man, this is a wild dream. We may force him, for fear of social and political consequence, not at all for the Truth's sake, to let us alone in the end, but meantime there is nothing for it but to suffer simply when and as we are called.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 11th August 1881.

Pleasantest things often not to be had. If I were to go from home, Church and Parish would collapse.

I don't like first Report of Church Courts Committee at all. It seems to me to be thinking much more of Upper Court than of Godly Discipline, which wants Lower Courts quite as much as—indeed more than—Upper, if it is ever to be real.

It has no word about the Archdeacons' Visitation Court, nor indeed about the Bishops' Visitation Court. But it is in these Courts that the first setting in motion of "Godly Discipline" is to be found—and as Bishops only visit once in three years, it is mainly in the Archdeacons' Court.

I think the Report as it stands will do infinite mischief. It is of the nature of a Nineteenth-Century expedient. It does not fall back at all upon the old Church lines, which are our only safety, notwithstanding all that is so glibly said about impossibility of revival—unfaithful talk I think.

Old age, and inadequacy to due discharge of very heavy Committee work have made me finally demit myself from Chairmanship of Discipline Committee of Lower House of Convocation.

I am the more anxious, therefore, that English Church Union should not run off upon Nineteenth-Century lines.

What we have to aim at—a thing essential to any true life of Church of England—is revival of Godly Discipline. Pray don't in English Church Union do what is in effect, so far as it can be done, to put fresh difficulties in the way, by virtually proclaiming that the old machinery, however pre-eminent in itself, is to be abandoned and something new put into its place.

We are quite as licentious as the Athenians, but not nearly so deep.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

16th August 1881.

It is increasingly curious and alarming, how difficult it has become to get unflinching adherence to the Church's rule affirmed in England. There is always this or that

loophole—commonly of a political or social character—why we are not to say “*non possumus*.” On the other hand, I have no more doubt than about my being alive when I write to you that in “*non possumus*” lies quite as much for us as for Rome—our only security under God. I am in a piteous minority of my countrymen. So was St Peter when he said “We cannot.” I hold definitely that I have the same ground of assurance as St Peter had—the same rule of life—the same test of all true obedience.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 20th August 1881.

I prefer wholly “*non possumus simpliciter*.” I hold it to be the one faithful, humble, self-denying rule. As for “*non possumus sub modo*,” I will have none of it. *A priori*, I believe it to be wrong; *a posteriori*, I can recall no instance, before my time or in it, in which it has not been a miserable failure. No doubt the temptation to adopt it, *ab intra et ab extra*, is enormous, especially in an Establishment. But the phase of Establishment is passing into the category of things extinct. I think now, as you know, that I was wrong in joining in an attempt to accelerate it; because this now presents itself to me as a presumptuous intrusion of private judgment upon God’s Province and Providence; but not one whit the less for that, am I persuaded that the day is near when it will cease to be anywhere upon earth. The Church, then, if it is to remain a Church, and not a sect Episcopal, must fall back upon “*non possumus*,” and the sooner she gets into something like true training the better. We are as yet a long way off from any such training anywhere. It is the world’s friendship rather than God’s friendship that it is the rule of Century XIX. to seek, following the seduction of many precedents, all their failures notwithstanding.

Religion seems to be fast fading away into a thing purely subjective—nominally but not really objective, because of the *sub modo* qualification attached, and made the test of Truth.

So I write up everywhere I can “*non possumus*.”

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 4th November 1881.

Ffoulkes may be learned and may be able; but he is not a man I could, under any circumstances, go to for counsel. He says of himself, "a wiser, but not by any means a sadder man." I should have thought that a man who left the Church of England for Church of Rome for one reason, and came back for another reason—the first being, a difference of principle, the second a difference of detail, has no claim to be called wise, but every reason to be sad and sadder.

I suppose that anything like a ceasing from our legal conflict can only be had upon some *uti possidetis* basis. Both sides claim to possess. To make them agree is impossible—if possible, would be ruinous and self-condemnatory—most of all on our side; for we take the highest ground of Catholic obedience to authority outside ourselves. The other side know of no such thing as authority outside themselves. It is every man's authority to himself and nothing else. This is what they say—what they mean, each one of them, is authority to himself and all he has to do with. They condemn resistance to themselves quite as much as we condemn resistance to Church authority.

The "Green" position appears to answer for itself; as he does not come out of prison it is clear that he and Bishop of Manchester are directly at issue about the meaning of Canonical obedience. If Bishop of Manchester could have got him to say what he wanted him to say, *i.e.* to accept his admonition, our whole cause and contention would have been cut up, root and branch.

To a Friend

EAST BRENT, 31st December 1881.

We are so sorry to hear of your suffering; we hope and pray it may be much abated if not yet gone.

Your own dear thoughts and lifting up your heart, remembering Him who suffered and died for us, will say to you all that I can say; but even where there is surety

of deepest and most loving sympathy, it is good to tell of it and to receive it.

I bear bodily pain, and I must add mental pain, so poorly myself, that it almost shames me to write about bearing it. But is there anything of so great power to cast down all vain imaginations of confidence in security of earthly blessings and comforts, and to bring us nearer and nearer to God in and by Him who has suffered all things for each one of us?

It is easy to sit without touch of pain, in health and such strength as remains in the seventy-seventh year of life, and to write as I am writing to one who is suffering sadly and yet is able to write as cheerfully and patiently as you write. Well, my much-loved child, for you have always been such to me and to my darling wife, God help me to prepare for my suffering day, that I may be cheerful and patient too. Health, strength, comfort are very precious things. To follow Christ and suffer with Him is more precious still.

To the Rev. W. H. Fowle¹

EAST BRENT, 14th March 1882.

Every Sunday at both services I ask "the prayers of the Church for those either lying in prison or otherwise suffering for the Truth of the Gospel and for Conscience sake." On the occasion of a special remembrance before God at Celebration I should say before beginning *ad hunc modum*: "You are asked this day to make special remembrance before God of His faithful servant, Sidney Faithorne Green,² now for one year a prisoner for refusing to break the law of the Church."

To Miss Denison

EAST BRENT, 24th March 1882.

Some twenty-five years ago, having "farmed" in a small way about twenty years, I retired from the occupation in respect of farming land, and have not since resumed

¹ Rev. W. H. Fowle, Vicar of Milverton, Somerset.

² The Rev. S. F. Green, Vicar of St John's, Miles Platting, imprisoned March 1881 till November 1882, now Vicar of Charlton, Dover.

it. I found I made no rent, or rather lost more than the rent, so I made it over to dear Georgy, who is very wise generally and particularly. When I look back upon the means of recovery I placed at her disposal and contrast them with the result, I am lost in admiration. I gave her—(1) No money; (2) some unhappy-looking cows; (3) some sheep, lame on more than one leg; (4) very poor provision in the shape of waggon, cart, horse, etc., etc. She has paid rent ever since; has bought horse, cart, etc.; has supplied house, etc. So you will perceive I did wisely in declining business. Had much better never have undertaken it. Some three years ago came upon us the desire of poultry-farming, and incubators were bought, in all three, one by me for ducks, one by Georgy and Henry for chickens. One of mine is sold to a neighbour, who tells me she has just succeeded in hatching forty-one chickens out of forty-eight eggs, put in strong and healthy. I pursued duck-farming last year with some success—cannot say profit. This year I have finally declined this branch also, and have given all my “plant” to Georgy and Henry. I find the attention a weariness now, and chilly at times, and that when I have opened a drawer I forget to shut it, and when I have shut it forget to open it, which omissions are not favourable to hatching and rearing. So now I only boil water for Georgy, and carry kettles, and am, so to speak, poultry-boy without wages; but Georgy and Henry will be very glad to have you among those they supply.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 3rd April 1882.

Letters from you always very welcome. I sit here in my nook, away from the active partaking in the work of defending and maintaining Church of England, which I have tried to have some share in for a great many years, and the vacancy makes itself felt, now that many things keep me at home. But a time comes upon us all when it is good to be comparatively at rest.

My mind has all along much misgiven me about Central Council, and the resolutions appended to Report of Committee of our House on Diocesan Conferences, as

cited by Dickenson in his letter in *Guardian*, 22nd March,¹ appear to me wild, and, in their issues, revolutionary.

If they come, as I suppose they must, before our House, I must be there to see what I can do to defeat them. But I have long felt that the House has got beyond me a long way, and is much more given, now for some fifteen years, to expedients than to principles.

This is, no doubt, the governing feature of English policy at this time, and for some time past, and it may be noted that it has been as a rule a feature of Church and State that, in the end, the first slips into the track of the second.

I think I will keep myself clear of communication with Central Council, except publicly. It has many excellent men and kind friends of mine, but I believe it to be upon wrong lines.

That it is so is perhaps much more the fault of Episcopal inaction and torpor, than of its own or suggested encroachment. But anyhow the fact remains.

For the rest of your letter I hope it may be as you say, and you know many things which I do not. But when I consider—

1. How great a confession of past sins, judicial and administrative, any halting in the course of many years past will be—not to say any change such as you are looking to.
2. The temptation to fall back upon the deprivation penalty instead of that of imprisonment, which has been found to stink too much in the civil nostrils of the people.
3. The Episcopal animus which only accepts anything Catholic when it cannot help itself.
4. The general downward and licentious tendency of the British mind.
5. The sure coming of Radical Government, when all things will go very fast by the shallowness and the fury of the people.

When I look on to all this, which, if I do not live to see it in all its rage, I think I can see nearly as though I did live, I cannot be hopeful of a good issue, save only, and

¹ "United delegacies for Central Council of Diocesan Conferences of three Clerical and three Lay members, nominated by each of the Diocesan Conferences."

except through the purifying process of great common suffering.

And this is, I believe, on its way. It has more than reached the gate already. It is storming the walls all round.

Defence is comparatively weak and poor; Churchmen, as a rule, under one pretext or another, consciously and unconsciously, follow the lead of the Civil Power.

The Civil Power is Indifferent. "Indifferent" always means, sooner or later, persecuting the Catholic; licensing all else. *E.g.* France showing England the way. Goddess of Reason, 1792, 1882.

To Mrs G. Denison

5 ARLINGTON STREET,
10th May 1882.

Draft of Archbishop's Bill¹ for means of releasing Mr Green carried in our House by 70 to 3. Gregory moved. I seconded.

Dinner at Bishop of Ely. Bishops of Winchester, Ely, Lichfield, Lincoln. Prolocutor, Gregory, Bright, Pott, Randall, Wilkinson.

Long talk after dinner about humiliation and intercession day. Archbishops and Bishops of course in great difficulty because of political position. I sat still for over an hour and then spoke out. I said I was bound for one—having been invited, on part of Bishops present, to give my judgment—to say that unless it was proposed definitely to include England with Ireland, as being the real author of all the present evil by the horrible misgovernment, and worse, of five centuries, I would much rather have nothing; that anything short of confession of England's sin and prayer for pardon, would make the whole matter a miserable unreality. Nobody had anything to answer. Several told me that they were very glad I had spoken out.

But I could see no sign of readiness to act upon my view of the case—nothing but fears and difficulties, this world first, second-duty to Church—alas, it is always so. The Church is made to guide herself by the political and social position.

¹ The Archbishop of Canterbury's Bill for extending the operation of 3 & 4 Vict. c. 93, was lost in the House of Commons.

If it is to end in some prayer, or form of prayer, from Archbishop or from the several Diocesans referring to Ireland only, it will be worse than nothing.

We shall see. I saw plainly enough that they were in distressing difficulty about the position, but could not bring their courage up to the point.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 13th May 1882.

There will probably be those amongst ourselves who will be disposed to say that the present moment, when the Upper House of Province of Canterbury, with, as we understand, Archbishop of York and other Bishops of Northern Province, are at length seeking to act for Mr Green's deliverance, is not the moment for a Memorial of this nature.

I cannot think that they would be right in so saying. I think it is eminently the time. I think that all that has to be done is to be very careful about the language employed—for the substance, it is not possible to state it too definitely or too strongly. And there is, moreover, this consideration—one of great importance to take into account—that, if we hold our hand at this juncture, it must, so to speak, be necessarily assumed that the Archbishop's Bill meets, in our view, the whole case. It would be an absurd assumption every way; but it would be assumed, nevertheless.

I am therefore wholly for moving in the direction of the Memorial at this juncture.

No doubt it is much to have got both Houses of Province of Canterbury for the first time concurrent, not in words only, but in action also; so far it is well, but it is but a very small part of the matter in hand.

I do not suppose any one of us is sanguine enough to expect Catholic Legislation, and this absence of expectation even makes it the more necessary that we should not abate, or so much as delay, reiterating and enforcing our whole claim. And this is the more important to insist upon at this time because of the endeavour, which will surely be pressed, to graft upon the Bill the recognition of "deprivation" as the penalty to be carefully preserved, when imprisonment is got rid of, if

indeed it shall be got rid of. In a word, it seems to me that, more distinctly than at any previous time, we are concerned with a great crisis in this matter, and that we should not act, let me say, quite faithfully, upon what are called prudential or conventional grounds, if we stay our hand at this particular juncture.

To Miss Lucy Phillimore

20th July 1882.

I have been at no time much disposed to Sunday-school, except as a means of gathering together those children for Church whose parents do not take them. As a time and place for saying lessons learnt before, or for teaching in class, I have never liked it, and I do not think it is going to remedy the contamination during the week of union with the Civil Power, which proclaims nothing but "Indifferentism." The fault in a Churchman lies in having anything to do, directly or indirectly, with the Civil Power in the matter of schools, and all the Sunday teaching in the world is not going to repair it. Christ's religion is first and everything, or it is last, and nothing.

To Rev. W. H. Fowle

EAST BRENT, 5th October 1882.

Georgy reminds me that I went with Buckland¹ from Palace Sarum to Stonehenge, the day referred to. I have no recollection of anything that passed, and had forgotten the fact. Also, that when we came back Buckland wanted a watch-glass for some chemical experiment, and I took out mine and gave it him. The experiment shattered it into bits and dust—whether it had any other success I have no recollection again.

Buckland and I were members of a Club at Oxford, giving dinners in turn of each member. One day I got a note from him—"Dear Denison, my dining-room is full of bones, take my turn for me." When we met, Buckland said to Bull, "Bull, why did you cut me in Piccadilly yesterday?"

¹ William Buckland, afterwards Dean of Westminster, father of F. Buckland, the naturalist.

Bull: "How could I speak to a man with a red herring in one hand and sucking an orange in the other?"

I am in much correspondence about Pusey Memorial.¹ I fear we men are not up to the mark which the specialties of the man, the time, and the ruin of the Collegiate Religious Life at Oxford demand at our hands. But it is all in abeyance at present.

For Conference I am wholly of same mind as I was at Wells last year, and shall say so there this year. I cannot forecast issue.

This, like other questions of principle, commonly goes off in our time upon some side issue. If I vote at Wells, I shall not vote at Taunton, because it is called—though it is not—one Conference in its tripartite form. Whether I say anything at Taunton must, I think, depend upon what turns up.

I shall probably see you for a little before we begin, Thursday.

To Miss Lucy Phillimore

9th October 1882.

Monday, 16th, fixed for a gathering at Keble College to "talk over." Rather a curious *rendezvous* to have selected under the circumstances; but they write to ask me to be present, and I cannot say "no," and must hope I shall not be too sharp a thorn in some sides. But I cannot like the position, nor the subjection of everything to probable "money" and "success." It seems to me—has seemed so a long time—that what we want most in England is to be thrown back upon poverty and faith to do the Church's work. There is a great deal too much, and it is very lowering, of attempting nothing without a big balance. I don't know of any great move which has been made for the Catholic Faith which has had a "big balance" foundation to begin with, and if there be cases, I am doubtful about their genuine character. I shall go

¹ Dr Pusey died 16th September 1882.

In his speech at the meeting held for the Pusey Memorial, 12th December 1882, Archdeacon Denison said: "We may not be satisfied with anything short of winning back Oxford, Colleges and University, to the obedience of the Faith. . . . We look forward to the day when once more the watchword of the University, and the several Colleges of Oxford shall be the recovered heritage of the Church of England, "*Dominus Illuminatio Mea*"—"The Lord is my Light."

and speak my mind, I hope doucely, as I have essayed to write it in a good many letters, and keep writing it, in my best hand. But my mind sinks a good deal as I read answers.

To Mrs G. Denison

CHRIST CHURCH,
OXFORD, 17th October 1882.

Dinner in Hall at 6, then Common Room. Got to our work—about thirty of us—about 7.30, thence on to 11.30. General result: No annexation to Keble College; Pusey's library to be bought and made nucleus of Memorial. Where to be placed in Oxford and under what regulations for use and assistance is the main object still to be considered by a small Committee, Oxford and London. Meeting at Lord Salisbury's early in November. . . . Tone of meeting depressed me. I spoke twice, the last time trying to press the danger and the necessity of grappling with it, but can't say I pleased myself. . . . Bright brought forward a painful thing, which is the destitution of the printing girls,¹ and spoke earnestly about the necessity of our meeting the case in primary connection with Memorial. I think it was recognised by the meeting, but the demonstration was feeble. . . .

19th October 1882.

I have all along been troubled by lack of real energy in Pusey Memorial case. We ought to have been in the field some time. I feel, too, that it is a blunder in tactics to have the meeting in London at Lord Salisbury's. . . .

To Mrs G. Denison

86 EATON PLACE, 28th October 1882.

Issue yesterday what I anticipated, but not, therefore, the less full of trouble. I send you C. Wood's paper on which the debate turned, and substance of what I said.

¹ From 1855 onwards, until the death of Dr Pusey, "the oldest and most promising of the orphans (in the Orphanage of the Devonport Society) were transplanted to the Printing Press of the Devonport Society, a work which was commenced at Bradford-on-Avon, and in later years carried on at 'Holy Rood,' Oxford" ("Life of E. B. Pusey, D.D.," vol. iii. p. 372.) The work did not survive its founder.

Meeting of some two hundred and fifty, private and representative. Two issues before it: (1) The affirming that in no case would the English Church Union stand by or assist any clergymen deprived, who should set up altar against altar in the parish or place, and so create a schism. This I was very glad of, and voted heartily for it—opponents very decided, but not many. (2) The affirming the policy upon sundry grounds, partly rhetorical, partly contingent, and more uncertain than certain—all illogical, more sentimental than real, and as I think, exposing more the desire for what goes by the name of “peace” and “success” than for anything sounder and truer—the policy of advising resignation of benefice to those under one or another measure of judicial sentence. I moved amendment. That it was not advisable that E.C.U. should advise upon this point. Some fifteen only voted with me, though, when I was speaking in sense of amendment, I was much applauded.

I believe, and think others do, that the reason of so few voting with me was that they were afraid that we might come to a vote showing a near division of opinion among those present, so as to enable it to be said that E.C.U. was divided upon the point.

However this may be, I think irreparable mischief has been done. . . . It is very difficult to say “no” to dear E—, very difficult to say “yes.” I feel more and more, privately and publicly, that I must give up going about to weddings, meetings, preachings; there is too much policy for me and too little faith.

But it may be I am wrong in saying this when I recall, “Let every man esteem others better than himself.”

It is a grand rule—none more grand—to go by day by day.

*To Miss Caroline E. Denison*¹

EAST BRENT, 13th November 1882.

In my old age I am making a beautiful orchard of rare fruits—partly at my landlord’s expense, partly mine own.

As the great Tullius saith:

“Serit arbores quæ alteri seculo prosint.”

Have presided at pruning of roots and planting of twenty

¹ Daughter of Sir William Denison.

this morning—lovely day for it—twenty-six more coming for landlord this evening. Told him it might cost £5 of his rent—will cost over £12, but that is small matter and of common occurrence. Having paid him £18 a year for 2 acres 37 years regular, no room for remonstrance. If made, do not intend to take any notice of it. I am conferring a big benefit upon him in taking care of his property.

Twelve more trees coming for me—what prospects of plums melting and dissolving, pears luscious, apples crisp, juicy, delicious—ought to have done it twenty years ago.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

196 CROMWELL ROAD,
17th November 1882.

I have been lying awake pondering over what was done yesterday, and what was not done, and remains to be done.

The tone was excellent. The Resolutions in their outward expression so inadequate, that as it cannot be supposed that what we mean is only a library, and two or three clergy as librarians, as the means of staying the plague in Oxford, with view to staying it all over the land and out of the land, it will of necessity be urged against us by the adversary that we mean a great deal more. Nor again is it fair to friends to leave them to ask the question, "Is this really all that is meant? If so, it can't want much money." Now what can be done? I think English Church Union might come throughout England and hold special "Pusey Memorial Meetings."

I should be glad to take charge of such a meeting at Bristol, if President and Council think well of the proposal. It seems to me that English Church Union ought to do something in this direction in its several localities, both on general and on particular grounds. I think of doing something of the kind at Taunton for my Archdeaconry—and I am clear that it should not be delayed. Will you let this letter be read to Council? I am so anxious about it, having already heard it repeated by great names that the Resolutions are not adequate, and will mislead both ways, that a great fear is upon me that a grand opportunity given us for doing what we may to meet

the danger under the Pusey banner and the power of his name will be in great measure lost.

I think it might be very good also in respect of re-integrating unanimity among us all. It would be a very binding cement.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 2nd December 1882.

I must come at your call if the weather does not beat me, as this morning it seems probable that it may. Monday is my birthday, bringing me to beginning of my seventy-eighth year, but I do not know that I could pass it in any better way than in coming

The lines you indicate are just those which from the first it has seemed to me to be the lines to take; anything else is like leaving the citadel to take care of itself while you are fighting for the approaches.

I just saved my weather at Taunton yesterday—a good gathering both in respect of heart and numbers—an open meeting without a shadow of dissent or difference—some very good speaking—particularly a very beautiful and touching speech from Stuckey Coles.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

86 EATON PLACE,
13th December 1882.

I think we must keep hitting till we knock into men what it is that we are about.

The lull which the Mackonochie correspondence must, I think, produce will have the effect perhaps of supplying many with excuse for doing nothing for Pusey Memorial. This must be met, and the breeze kept moving in every quarter we can. It is really a life-long and perpetually successive work that we have in hand. And if prosecutions are going to cease and determine, what so worthy of English Church Union as the teaching people of England and her Empire and English Church at large what that really is which it is before us to do principally now—viz., to combine all Church forces to fight the battle of the

Catholic Faith against foes innumerable and strong, seductive and plausible.

It seems like a new starting-point of renovated life, and so far from there being any ground in the position as in one aspect altered and improved, we have given us increased and increasing ground for further and stronger action.

It should not be possible for the world to say now of us : "These men, having got their Ceremonial, have nothing to employ themselves about."

But, possible or not, it will be said, if we be not up and doing against the Indifferent and the Infidel, as being our principal *raison d'être*.

I feel as if English Church Union work were, so to speak, just beginning, instead of, as weak people suppose, having nothing left to do, because not much fear of any more "prosecutions at law."

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 17th December 1882.

I have read enclosed—good man—but a deal too timid for me. I have written to him.

For his proposal about School Rate.

1. I think School Rate an abomination which I cannot so much as touch under any conditions, unless to pay it, if levied upon me, under a distress warrant.
2. I have no belief that Parliament of all religions and of none is going to relax one quarter of an inch of its grip upon schools — Church of England or other church ; its object and purpose in passing Act of 1870 being plainly the ultimate stultification and abolishment of all such schools.

Twelve years ago, after some thirty years of a nominal support, very fine in words but the poorest thing possible in reality, friends and foes combined to put me into the ditch and to leave me there ; falling themselves into a hopeless quagmire in which they have floundered miserably ever since, and out of which I have no belief they are ever going to get.

3. I don't know what would prevail upon me to undertake anything again in connection with National Society, which, under its Committee, was the original sinner.

I must stop, for my Sunday postman has come. I feel so keenly in this matter that I cannot help writing strongly.

To Miss Caroline Denison.

22nd December 1882.

I go to Bristol to-morrow to move First Resolution at meeting of Churchmen *in re* Pusey Memorial. I have got Lord Beauchamp into the Chair. . . .

I daresay it will be a big gathering.

Then on Friday I am due at Jerusalem Chamber at three, about Memorial to the late Archbishop; all things are in strange concurrence and juxtaposition.

I want to do what I can towards bringing each and all to bear upon one and the same point.

So I must, Friday morning, come to London.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

23rd December 1882.

I carried unanimously at Westminster the Second Resolution¹ as in *Times* this morning, seconded by Lord Mayor. The laity rose to it at once, like a good trout, the clergy followed. Barry was of chief use, but I think all agreed.

This morning I have drafted scheme for carrying out principle—you shall have copy. I shall send it to many members of Executive Committee in preparation for Committee meeting middle of January—public meeting just

¹ Jerusalem Chamber. Dean of Westminster (Very Rev. G. Bradley) in the Chair. "That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable to establish as a memorial of the late Archbishop of Canterbury some institution of permanent Christian usefulness, designed especially to carry out his last exhortation to united action in the great struggle against sin and unbelief."

The Most Rev. A. C. Tait, Archbishop of Canterbury, died 3rd December 1882. A different plan was subsequently decided upon, and the Archdeacon withdrew from the Committee. See "Life of Archbishop Tait," vol. ii. p. 599.

before Parliament—having carried principle I am bound to be ready with scheme.

1. I have no fear of its interfering with Pusey Memorial: it will bring in very many, on the same fundamental basis of action, who would not contribute to Pusey Memorial. It will stop nobody who will.
2. It will unite support of Convocation people, Church Societies, etc., etc., Royalty and Court People.

Barry said to me after meeting: "You have got us out of a great difficulty." Bishop of Lichfield very cordial in concurrence—Winchester too, but looking to difficulties. I told them that I would give nothing for a move which had not difficulties.

I may be over sanguine upon birth of my child, but I do not see the difficulties of my scheme, and I see many and excellent advantages.

I shall look anxiously for your free opinion upon it.

I please myself with thinking this will come to you on if not just before Christmas Day.

To the Hon. C. L. Wood

EAST BRENT, 26th December 1882.

I wish I could have looked at Manning with any part of your eye: but I cannot.

1. He talks about Act of 1870 being a necessity. I call it, as in a Christian country, a huge national sin—and no sin is a necessity.
2. He forgets his logic and uses education in its two senses—religious and secular—as if they were the same thing, or rather as if there were any education not primarily and paramountly religious.
3. He defends that abomination of abominations, compulsory education. There are other things, but his three-legged stool goes down upon each of its three legs. And I call, as I have done, long before 1870, which reached the point at which the Civil Power had been aiming ever since 1832—that is the universal substitu-

tion of the State for the Church school—I call the whole proceeding of some fifty years now as big a piece of national irreligion and trampling upon the Church of Christ under plausible but wholly false pretences, as I am acquaint with in the history of any people.

I believe the whole thing to be out of the reach of mending, because it is a sin not only not repented of but paraded as a virtue. So England, proclaiming that the Church of Christ has failed, goes about regenerating her people with knowledge secular, leaving religion to take care of itself.

It is one of those things—for there are others—which have made me tremble for our future for some fifty years. For the design has been clear to my eyes from the first, as I said in my letter to Gladstone in 1847; everything I said there, save only the extra abomination of the time-table Conscience Clause, which was invented as the latest deceit in 1870, is written down by me in 1847. There is one poor compensation about “Compulsory Education,” viz. that it shivers into little bits the ridiculous plea of conscience upon which the adversary rested so long, as it was ready to his hand.

Here is a man with sense of religion in himself and for his child. He says I cannot, it is against my conscience, to send my child to a place where he is neither taught any religion or false religion. Oh, but you must send him—the law says so—or be fined. Lovely respect for a parent’s conscience. And yet it was upon the plea of respecting conscience that the anti-Church battle was fought and won by the adversary.

My dear Charles, I shall still hope that you will not bring your fingers near this pitch.

Better I say, ten million times better, have no schools at all into which, upon any pretext, the Civil Power, indifferent and irreligious, can set its foot, than a school under provisions of Act of 1870, or any modification of that Act, save only its unconditional repeal. This is, I know, among things impossible—well, it is as impossible to me to have a finger in trying to mend what is radically and irreclaimably vicious all through.

It has been from first to last a question not of principle but of statescraft and bribery and corruption.

You shall have the Review safe back. It would have gratified me to burn it, but I forbear for love of you.

27th December 1882.

Let me add to my truculent letter of yesterday this. That Manning and the Roman Catholics are in a wholly different position as respects the usurpation by Civil Power in the matter of schools, and all other places of "religious learning."

No child, as a rule, finds its way into a Roman Catholic school, or is forced into it I should rather say, except the Roman Catholic child. What Manning proposes would give Roman Catholics all their share. But I do not see how it would give us—under Act of 1870—or any Act probable now or even possible, all our share—supposing for a moment that all the vital objections to said Act were removed.



VILLAGE—EAST BRENT.

1883-1886

IN 1883 the letters relate to debates in Convocation over the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill and the Affirmation Bill, brought in to meet the case of Mr Bradlaugh, who had been elected by the borough of Northampton, but being an avowed Atheist, could not take the Parliamentary oath.

Archdeacon Denison gives an account of the East Brent Harvest Home, a festivity which he had established on an unusually large scale, and which was heartily enjoyed by the parish and neighbourhood.

At this time he corresponded with Canon Liddon about the proposed "Church Day Schools Company," which he distrusted as being a compromise, and contrasted with the schools founded by Canon Woodard, which were, he considered, *bonâ fide* Church Schools, and he debated the question in Convocation in 1884.

In 1885 his letters give interesting comments on Christian Socialism and on the state of Ireland.

In 1886 he was very eager about the General Election, and his letters give a vivid picture of a stormy meeting at which he took the Chair.

To Miss Lucy Phillimore

16th February 1883.

Worship of God has a hard battle to fight with worship of Intellect—what cant of the day calls “Culture”—*i.e.* “Education” without Religion as its first and governing element.

The women fell foul of me, in private, at Torquay for what I said about “culture.” If they had listened with cultured attention they might have heard what I meant, as I replied upon them. Otherwise I had a great reception private and public. . . .

We lost much when dear Ely¹ was not made Archbishop—but as soon as his words about relative value of “Church” and “Establishment” fell from his lips at the meeting in Arlington Street, November 16, and the whole meeting rose and cheered, I said to myself—“Ah, my dear man, you will never be Archbishop.”

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
10th April 1883.

With general acceptance I stated that under the published circumstances of the position in respect of Upper House and Central Council, there appeared to me to be no room for proceeding with my Resolutions.² I am

¹ Right Rev. J. R. Woodford.

² I. That the Constitution of “Central Council of Diocesan Conferences” requires—*in limine*—amendment in a chief particular; under the two following aspects of it:—

(a) That “Diocesan Conference” being composed of the Bishop, Clergy, People, “Central Council” represents Clergy and People; but not the Bishop.

(b) That, as respects the two Houses of Convocation, several Members of Lower House are Members of “Central Council;” but no Member of Upper House.

II. That a humble Address be presented by this House to his Grace the President, and their Lordships the Bishops, of Upper House, praying their attention to, and consideration of, the facts above stated, as involving directly issues of primary importance.

GEORGE ANTHONY DENISON,
Archdeacon of Taunton.

told by those who appear to know, that the general feeling of Upper House is not favourable to taking part in proceedings of Central Council. But I may probably hear more to-night at Bishop of Ely's. Meantime, so far, I stand clear. Then I presented Gravamen on Deceased Wife's Sister; many wished to go into it to-day. But it saved time, and was more convenient, to defer it till to-morrow. Gregory, who had been detained, came after all this with a Gravamen of his own—a long argument, and Sumner, as I do, thinks our simpler statement is much to be preferred. We shall see what the House says to-morrow.

There has been a joint tribute of both Houses to the late Archbishop. I could not have moved it or seconded it. But after all it is a matter of feeling rather than of strict reason, and it was much to be desired that no debate should take place, because it might happen, most probably, that things might be said painful and not useful. There has been a proposal by a member of the House, and put before the House by Prolocutor, for a sort of approachment of the Archbishop¹ with best wishes and hopes. It is put off till to-morrow. I think it an unwise proceeding and an awkward precedent, or what might easily become so. And I think we shall have to think it better not to do it. Meantime, though reporters are asked to take no notice of what has passed upon it to-day, men get easily over the traces when they begin to frisk. At the bottom of all the frisking lies the congratulation that men are looking for a different Archiepiscopate from the last, and it is best to be quiet as may be. Men, generally, are very sorry for the tone of the Archbishop's reply to Deputation on part of the 14,000 Clergy about Deceased Wife's Sister. I did not like it at all when I read it; very milk and watery.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
11th April 1883.

After rather a stormy morning, but all in good humour upon other matters, and luncheon with John Thynne at 2 P.M., came up the question as between Gregory and me,

¹ Most Rev. E. W. Benson.

both at one upon substance of Deceased Wife's Sister, but differing upon manner of Gravamen, ours being reduced to the simplest form, his going into much argument. By a majority of 2 or 3 House chose his. I am much afraid that it has been a great mistake, opening prospect of almost interminable debate, and of a less consistent majority. But there is now no help for it. The morning has been occupied with matter of very inferior importance. All this shows over and over again how impossible it is to do business of a complicated and multiform character with the limited time at our command, and how often comparatively trivial things come in the way of things of first-rate moment, both in respect of time and matter. We are in afternoon of Wednesday, and nothing done yet either in Deceased Wife's Sister or Affirmation Bill.¹ This is very injurious.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
12th April 1883.

I have just spoken upon the Affirmation Bill. At the end of my speech there was what I do not remember to have heard in the House—much clapping of hands. Archdeacon of Oxford is speaking on other side; there may be ten or a few more in the House for the Bill. We shall see. I get all manner of heartiest expression of kindest thankfulness for my speech.

There are some men in the House whose way of looking at the matter does not more surprise than grieve me. They will be in a great minority, but before the world it does much to mar the effect which would have attended a vote *nem. con.*

AFFIRMATION BILL.

Division 66 to 11 against Bill, 3.35 P.M.; an excellent debate—perhaps the best I can recall, both in point of feeling and faithfulness, power, both in respect of argument and learning.

¹ Brought in to meet the case of Mr Bradlaugh, allowing the use of an affirmation instead of an oath.

To Mrs G. Denison

16 CHESHAM PLACE,
13th April 1883.

All went as well as could be, and the result showed that Gregory's four votes had gained a good deal. No opposition such as I had feared, but only mending and shaping, issuing in a very good document indeed of the reasoned character he wanted, and which I was glad to have, as it turned out, in place of my own more brief one, carried into *Articulus Cleri* unanimously.

I am told on all hands that I made a "great speech" on Affirmation Bill.

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
13th April 1883.

This morning a very good issue out of what was at first rather an awkward proposal by letter to Prolocutor from my friend Lightfoot, Archdeacon of Northampton, and read by Prolocutor to the House, to the effect that Lower House should ask leave to go in a body to "wish the Archbishop joy." It was received hesitatingly, not without reason.

We considered it afterwards at Bishop of Ely's, and came to conclusion of getting it shaped by private communication with the Archbishop and Bishops, with view to their coming down to our House for prayers this morning. Then came Address from Archbishop—very nice and loving and wise—and like response from our Prolocutor, who has done excellently well in all respects these Sessions. I think the proceeding will have a very good public effect.

To Walter Phillimore, Esq., D.C.L.

EAST BRENT, 1st June 1883.

In re English Church Union I am in great and cruel difficulty.

In common, as I cannot doubt, with the very great majority of Members of English Church Union, clerical

and lay, I deplore and reject Affirmation Bill; and this upon ground, not of politics at all, but of Religion.

Then comes report with Section *ad rem*.

As Member of English Church Union I cannot honestly be present and hold my tongue.

Upon Section of Report I observe—

1. That it neither accepts nor rejects.
2. That it apologises for touching the matter at all, as being political rather than Religious.
3. That, nevertheless, it falls back, perforce, upon Religion through fourth term of its quasi-syllogism—a term compounded of Electors of Northampton, Bradlaugh, Irreligious Education, etc. Was ever a greater jumble and instance of absence of logical coherence and of self-contradiction?

And could anything more surely bring up dissatisfaction among members of Union, and expose to more slaughtering comment of the adversary?

The comment of a very shrewd man and able judge expressed to me upon Section was, "Why, it won't read." . . .

It adds not a little to the distress of position that the trouble *in re* "Affirmation Bill" comes same day with presentation by me of Address to President, which could not be silent upon "differences of judgment." And here comes in, since Address was drafted, another, about as big a difference of judgment as can be found. I have no thought of shrinking from what I have undertaken; but it seems to me that I may reasonably ask to put upon record with those with whom I am safe, what the position is, and how deeply it troubles me.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
4th July 1883.

I send you paper as finally carried¹ in our House. Men are very content with it. My fear is on this, as in other principal matters, that very many will be satisfied with having voted, and will not rise to the true practical issues

¹ With regard to the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill.

which I do not say are before us, so much as upon us. I have just been talking a little with Bishop of Winchester¹ outside Upper House. He is, as I was sure he would be, as deeply alarmed as any man thinking deeply and religiously must be, both at the position and the prospects—most of all at the prospects. His ground is, as it has long been my own, the apathy of the Parochial Clergy. There is nobody really to fight the battle but the Bishops and the Clergy, with such faithful laity as will rise at their call, in some measure corresponding to the emergencies and the true importance of the matter in hand, both in itself and in its necessary uses and results.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
5th July 1883.

Dinner at Gregory's last night. Bishop of Lincoln² there; always rejoiced to meet him. Committee of Bishops; five appointed; all in good train, I hope. "Amendments" in Committee of no account, but had much better have been left alone, especially under the circumstances; because it always does mischief to have a division of a great body of men banded together for maintaining a primary principle. No men but the Clergy would be so foolish. But no harm has been done; the substance of our prayer to the Bishops remains untouched, as the Prolocutor took care to explain to the House. I don't know of anything which is of the substance of the case which is not, thank God, in good train. This remains—that all who see of what moment it is to the Church, and above all to reverence towards the Word of God, that this attempt against Holy Matrimony should not succeed, and who can lead and influence others, should give up all the time and labour they can command to move the People at large to speak out.

I have been asked again what I advise as to noticing particularly the canvassing and the vote of the Princes. I have advised strongly against it, and I believe the advice will be followed.

¹ Right Rev. Harold Browne.

² Right Rev. Bishop J. King.

6th July 1883.

I must go down to House this morning, to see what can be done to mend some bad work yesterday.

The trouble has no reference to Deceased Wife's Sister matter, but to a general revolution in whole Marriage Law, proposed without any notice at the end of group of sessions.

The entire move upon this Marriage Laws Report has been full of gravest blunders, and not a little misruling.

It is full of trouble, especially just now when every word connected with Marriage Law wants guarding most carefully.

To Mrs G. Denison

FREEMASONS' TAVERN.¹

Great meeting. I have just presented Address;² Shaw Stewart has seconded. There are over 800 official signatures. It represents fully the entire Union. C. Wood has returned his thanks very beautifully and most touchingly. Shaw Stewart seconded me excellently well.

C. Wood gave us a really admirable address in opening the Proceedings, as upon receiving our Address.

I shall get some words, I believe, into *Union Gazette* about the two historical facts of Convocation, etc., and Address of some 14,000 Clergy to Archbishop.

Canon Temple has most kindly accepted at once what I propose to insert in his "schools" Resolution; he has told the meeting so; so far all is well.

At eight, meeting, Deceased Wife's Sister. Lord Shaftesbury and many others come.

¹ Meeting of English Church Union.

² To the Hon. C. L. Wood, President of the English Church Union. "Mr President, the English Church Union, founded in 1860, and designed to gather into one the efforts of Church Unions in many parts of England, has, among its multiplying cares, a special debt of love and duty to discharge—the debt of thankful testimony to you who have been now for fifteen years its loved and honoured President. . . . We praise God for the memory of Edward Bouverie Pusey, for the life and labours of Charles Lindley Wood."

To Rev. W. H. Fowle

EAST BRENT, 9th August 1883.

As I am not yet named Dictator—in which case one of the first clearances would be Architect of Ecclesiastical Commissioners, with reminder to be careful not to let me find him in England again—I don't see what help there is for you against these men.

You know I never expected any consideration at their hands. This comes of being “a Board” or rather “a Stone”—you may poke at it for ever, but it remains just as it was. Conscience is lacking wholly.

And yet take them apart (I rather except architect from this less unfavourable judgment), and they are good enough people. But as for Conscience and Consideration, that is left in the Hall of the Office with the Porter, to be put on when they go out of office into the street.

No doubt it is convenient, but somewhat lowering.

To Miss Denison

EAST BRENT, 15th September 1883.

. . . Harvest Home great success; rained all Sunday night and Monday to about midnight. Nevertheless the people, indefatigable as soon as huge tents had been got up in rain, set to work, Vicarage and village to decorate; great work of high art; all complete by mid-day Tuesday. From early morning Tuesday up to to-day, Saturday, weather perfect, sun, air; no rain or wind; large company. Took £45 at gate; subscriptions, £68—£113 in all; will pay all expenses and leave some balance. Wonderful Punch, steam Merry-go-round, fortune-telling, various other amusements; teetotal drinks only—football, etc.; everybody highly pleased; two grand Balls, 1000 people in tent on Tuesday night, 500 Wednesday night; had food over on Tuesday enough for poor parishioners' second meal Wednesday. I think our new plan has saved us some £50 or more, and left all more contented than they used to be. Very fine music, dressing in best taste, manners and general demeanour perfect; no doubt an admirable institution; should be witnessed to be com-

prehended. Dancing from seven to eleven Tuesday night ; to twelve Wednesday night ; then I told them they were to go. They cheered and thanked, and in ten minutes tent was cleared, and all went away quietly. I am told that Merry-go-round's man made £20, costing me nothing ; Punch cost £1, 1s., and did not send round plate, and so other amusements costing me nothing but leave to be present in outer field. Your dear aunt got through all the fatigue very well, and is greatly pleased at result. They tell me that our attraction was so great that the Landlord of Brent Knoll Inn says he lost £10 or £12 by us ; all about cleared away to-day.

To the Rev. Canon Liddon

EAST BRENT, 26th November 1883.

All thanks for kind help. I would that I could see a prospect of our being of one mind respecting present action in this matter.

1. For analogy of "Company"¹—Surely this may be called a Company and yet have no possible analogy to any other Company that ever has existed, or can be supposed likely to exist. Therefore
2. Churchmen cannot be asked, except "*joci more*" to leave it alone, inasmuch as it is destructive, theoretically and practically, of the "Church School" in England.
3. The Archbishops and great majority of Bishops being promoters, it is surely a delusion to speak of its not, practically at least, committing the Church. For every Churchman, whether unsound already or wavering, will now be able to cite Archbishops and Bishops as on the loose side, in respect of Constitution of so-called Church Schools. And schools of the "Woodard" type, *i.e.* real Church Schools, will become only an exception instead of what they ought to be the rule.
4. You cannot separate the Archbishop's personal and official position, especially with his many satellites all round him.

¹ Church Day Schools' Company.

5. I call the scheme theoretically and practically the death of the Church School in England as the rule—with, of course, its particular exceptions. I can give it no other name—there is no other for it.
6. Is there therefore anything which more imperatively calls upon Churchmen to stand in the breach, and for themselves and others fight the issue at every point? I cannot see any such thing, nor can I contemplate it.
7. As for “consequences,” where it is quite plain, as in this case it is, that on the one side is the faithful maintaining of what has been committed into our hands by God to keep and to deliver, and on the other alleged or real consequences of such maintaining, these consequences are nothing at all in the scale. The argument would indeed prove too much—the argument I mean that they ought to prevail.
8. I hold it to be a case quite “*in pari materia*” with maintaining the Athanasian Creed. I am wholly at a loss to see where is the difference. The Church School is built upon the Creeds. Is the Place for inculcating the Creeds. I know of no other like place. The real danger about Rome is not the affirming and maintaining at all costs the position of the Church of England, but the shrinking from doing this from fear of consequences, and so appearing before men careless and indifferent about it.

And now I have said my say, and must not encroach upon you any more. That I am sadly disappointed and well-nigh broken down, I need hardly say after writing as above.

And I add—I hope in true humbleness of heart and mind—that having had placed in my hands, by many and long antecedents, the conduct of this particular contention for the Faith once delivered to the Saints, it is a very saddening thought that it may be after all only my own unworthiness which makes me so powerless with my brethren when I pray them to act with me, not necessarily at all in my own particular way as already published, but in at least so much as this, that they consent to come together to consider upon the best way of publication after private consultation.

[The Archdeacon fully explained his opinion in a pamphlet as follows.]

The staple "Arguments" employed by the promoters of the Schools of "the Church School Company" are so quaint and curious, that it may help people to apprehend them a little if argument and reply are put into parallel columns.

ARGUMENT 1.

That people, not of the Church, won't be "compelled" to send their children to a "Church School" to be taught there the Religion of the Church.

ANSWER 1.

Who ever dreamt of compelling them? This is clap-trap, and nothing else. Of course they won't be "compelled." Will not and cannot. But who ever asked them to be? What the argument comes to is just this. That, because non-Church people will not have Church-teaching for their children in a Church School—which is entirely their own affair, and not the Church's affair at all — *therefore* the "Church School" is to alter itself in principle, and become *not* the "Church School," to suit them. The compulsion is upon the Church School; not upon non-Church people.

ARGUMENT 2.

That the Scheme of the Church Company is a private thing, noways committing the Church.

ANSWER 2.

Well, there is — considering that the two Archbishops and a great many Bishops have taken shares in the Company—there is a boldness, amounting to indiscretion, in this combined statement and inference. And one may at least ask, if there be no authority corporate for the Scheme, that we, who are compelled to resist it, should not be, as it were, overridden by assumed Corporate Authority.

ARGUMENT 3.

That when the non-Church children find themselves in a place where they may be taught the Religion of the Church, or not, as they please, the teachers of the school will not be in any fear about teaching that Religion

ANSWER 3.

I have heard in my life a good many quaint arguments, but I think never one so quaint, and so characteristic of Cent. XIX., as this. That, it being your Divine Commission and Trust to teach in the "Church School"

ARGUMENT 3—*continued.*

boldly and uncompromisingly. But not till then; and *therefore* the Scheme is a good Scheme and deserving of confidence and support.

ANSWER 3—*continued.*

the Truth of GOD, the effect of this upon you in the presence of some who, you know, don't believe in it, but, being present at it, are obliged to hear it, is to make you shy and faltering in your delivery; and that it is only when the Constitution of the School sets them free from hearing you, that you recover the boldness—let me say the faithfulness—of a teacher of CHRIST'S Religion.

I submit that an argument, premiss and conclusion, so dishonouring to Church teachers was never adduced before, or so much as thought of. And it seems to show to what straits the "Church Company" must be reduced for something to say, when they put out gravely and confidently such a thing as this.

ARGUMENT 4.

That the Church has a great debt to pay to the middle classes, and therefore, etc., as above.

ANSWER 4.

No doubt this is sadly true: but the question is not at all about the fact of the debt, but about the ways and means and manner of paying it. The Church has one fund inexhaustible, because Divine, out of which to pay it. And this is the Truth of the Church, as providing for this world and for the next in one and the same Scheme for teaching.

But this is *all* the Church has wherewith to pay, and the Church *may not* put any other fund in its place; or so much as side by side with it, and be found honest and faithful.

ARGUMENT 5.

That if people not of the Church are willing to send their children to a Church School for the secular teaching of it only, and to take their chance of their becoming Church children, it is charitable to let them come on their own terms.

ANSWER 5.

Charitable to whom?

To the Church teacher, who does what is not in his bond—not in his Trust and Commission?

To the Church child, who sees his Religion put aside, and interfered with every day, under a "Time Table Conscience Clause,"

ARGUMENT 5—*continued.*ANSWER 5—*continued.*

for convenience of the non-Church child, the Law Divine subjected to human contrivance, Heresy and Schism made practically of no account?

To the non-Church child who lives daily in the presence of subordination of "the Faith necessary to Salvation" to human convenience?

To both, in the rending asunder the Religious and the Secular; putting asunder those whom GOD hath joined together; with the practical issue that the rule of the World being once let into the "Church School" becomes the dominant and all pervading rule of its administration; aye, of its very idea?

To the non-Church parent, whom it assumes to be indifferent to his own form of faith, doing him this great dishonour, and calling it charity?

There are many new and strange things among us, but if this be the Charity of the Gospel, the Church of CHRIST has been under a great error for some nineteen hundred years.

ARGUMENT 6.

That if you have free Churches you ought to have free Schools.

ANSWER 6.

I have answered this in my Letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury. I reprint the answer.

I submit that there is no analogy here between "Churches" and "Schools." But first, let me define what is, I suppose, meant by a "free Church"; that is to say, a Church into which any and every one may go at the time of Divine Service and remain there so long as he does not disturb or offend the Congregation. By a "free school,"—a school into which there is admission alike to children of all religions and of no religion. I proceed—

That a Church is, primarily, a

ARGUMENT 6—*continued*ANSWER 6—*continued.*

place for the Worship of GOD by the baptised into CHRIST.

That it is, further, a place for reading to them and expounding to them the Word of GOD, and a house of Prayer.

That it is an accident of the use of a Church—not the essence of it—one not capable of being guarded against in our time of decay of all discipline; that disbelievers and unbelievers may be present during Divine Service under condition of outward Order and Decency.

That a Church School is, primarily, a place for the catechetical teaching and the training of the Baptised: also of those being prepared for Baptism; and of these two classes only: with the power, as with the duty, of excluding all other.

That therefore, in the one case, the primary purpose is Worship, without power to refuse admission.

That in the other the primary purpose is catechetical teaching and training to two particular classes of children: with duty and power to refuse admission to all other.

That therefore there is here no analogy.

I submit, further, that the “free School” proposed is a contradiction in terms—that there is, in fact, no such thing as such “free School.” For,

If the Management of the School—its rules in respect of time and character of teaching—be so much as modified to suit the case of the non-Church children, it ceases to be a “free School” to the Priest and Schoolmaster, and to Church Children. If it be not so modified, it is not a “free School” to the non-Church children.

Both classes are mulcted of “freedom.”

ARGUMENT 6—*continued*.ANSWER 6—*continued*.

That the escape from this dilemma is that devised *at the cost of the Church*, under what is commonly called "the Time Table Conscience Clause."

That this introduces and establishes Separation in a "Church School" between "Religious" and "Secular."

That this is fatal to the *raison d'être* of the "Church School."

These may suffice at present as a sample of Argument and Answer. The Argument against the Scheme which includes and sums up every other, is that The School proposed under the Scheme is not, and never can be, the "Church School." It is a School with the Church element taken out, in order to put into its place "some new thing" (Acts xvii. 21). This Argument has not been attempted to be answered, historically, or theologically, or logically.

GEORGE ANTHONY DENISON.

BRISTOL, 3rd November 1883.

To Walter Phillimore, Esq., D.C.L.

EAST BRENT, 26th December 1883.

Si sic sinistra quid dextra? Melius, si placet, sinistra quam dextra. Gratulamur—Gratias agimus. De Salute Salutamus Optima omnia, quæcunque sint, vobis vestrisque omnibus.

And now for a graver thing, with prospect of much pain about it, even than that grave thing, a broken right arm.

I do not approve the tendency of the Resolutions;¹ I am persuaded that they fail in the cardinal point—

(a) English Church Union is a body formed for defence and maintenance of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church of England.

¹ These Resolutions were after two meetings of the Union finally (5th February 1884) shaped as follows:—

1. That the English Church Union records its thankfulness that the report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission justifies the contention maintained by the Union against the authority of the Privy

- (b) In every matter which touches Doctrine and Discipline it is its office to speak distinctly and unmistakably.
- (c) It is not what is said in debate, however well said: it is the Resolutions passed which are the "*littera scripta manens*."
- (d) The crucial question before us is—
 Will we have a final Court of five Laymen, or will we not?
 I say "no." No circumstances, conditions, explanations, modifications, can have the smallest effect towards bringing me to say "yes."
 It is therefore my simple duty to do what I can to persuade the Body of the English Church Union to say "no."
- (e) To suggest modifications of Report, leaving fact of Court of five Laymen in its substance where it is, is to suggest manner of legislation upon the lines of the Report. It is our business to say so at once simply and unmistakably.
- (f) I cannot see that what other persons or bodies may do or not do in the matter is anything to us. We have our own simple duty to do irrespective of everybody else.
- (g) If the collective body of English Church Union are for accepting under modification the Court of five Laymen, let them be asked directly and

Council and the Courts subject to its jurisdiction in matters touching the doctrine and discipline of the Church.

2. That the English Church Union while accepting with great thankfulness the loyal recognition of the true relations between Church and State contained in the Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, and while recognising the right of every Subject to resort to the Crown for redress of any temporal wrong which he believes to have been inflicted on him by the decision of any Ecclesiastical tribunal, is unable to accept the proposed Court of Final Appeal, or any other secular Court, which should claim to reverse on Appeal, either directly or indirectly any Spiritual sentence of the Church.

3. That this Union regrets that the opportunity was not taken by the Commissioners of considering the whole Subject of Church Discipline.

4. That no reconstruction or regulation of the Ecclesiastical Courts can acquire Spiritual Validity except from the authority of the Church Herself in Her Synods.

5. That the President of the English Church Union be requested to embody the preceding resolutions in a petition to be presented on behalf of the Union to the Convocations of Canterbury and York.

simply so to say. If they are not, let them be asked in like manner so to say.

- (h) Let us be most careful that it be not possible for any one to say that we mean one thing, and for another to say that we mean something else. For myself, I am bound to say that if English Church Union do not unmistakably reject Court of five Laymen in last resort, I cannot see where and what my place is in English Church Union.

N.B.—I have a message this morning from Bishop of Ely:

“Urge Lower House to reject the proposed final Court—to move approval of such recommendations as precede it—and simply, without reasons stated, or alternatives suggested, to negative the final Court.”

This is just what I propose to do, so far as respects final Court in English Church Union. I am quite unable to apprehend your distinction between the province and duty of Convocation and of English Church Union. That one is a Constitutional Body having authority corporate, and the other only an aggregate of individual Churchmen, makes indeed all the difference in respect of authority, but makes no difference in respect of duty.

To Mrs G. Denison

65 WIMPOLE STREET, W.,
23rd January 1884.

Yesterday was a great deliverance. I cannot be adequately thankful. I had to fight in part against President, though I am persuaded that in his secret heart he is with me and against Walter Phillimore in his craze about separating temporalities and spiritualities, and carried against both. A very full Council—some thirty men at least. The first three amendments *nem. con.*, the others after division.

It relieves me from the heavy burden of fighting Council to-night at special meeting of E.C.U., and, I believe, saves E.C.U. from splitting up.

I dined with the B. Comptons at 6.30, and go with him to meeting at 8. He was with us, by special invitation of President, at 12—Grueber, he and I. We sat two hours, and three in Council. Compton is not a member of E.C.U., but by request of President and Council moves Resolution 3 to-night. I answered for him, and have secured him. He is wholly with me, and is much more conversant with the whole history of the thing than I am. Somehow, I seem, intuitively as it were, to come to same conclusion as the learned people. The battle will now be with Convocation, who, so far as I know at present, propose some long, and more or less compromising, Resolutions for Lower House.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
12th February 1884.

All going comfortably up to this hour, 2.10 P.M. Ouseley¹ speaking on his Motion about a "Religious Census." I don't suppose it will take rest of day; in that case Church Schools' Company² comes on. I see many men are very uneasy under the position—have not courage, many of them to stand fast. I have all along expected to be soundly beaten some way or the other, but I could heartily wish that the question should not be met by "previous question," as I hear it is to be, because it is not a worthy way of meeting such a question, nor indeed any Religious question. But all this is out of my hands; I have only to go straight by God's help. Sitting by Gregory all in greatest harmony, but of course going to

¹ The Rev. Sir F. Ouseley.

² "That this House, understanding that there is at this time a formal proposal before the Church to establish middle-class schools, such schools to be not connected with Civil Power by condition annexed to grant, or by any other ground of interference or control; but, nevertheless, to recognise and admit, as a rule of their administration, what is commonly called the 'Conscience Clause,' earnestly deprecates such proposal as incapable of being reconciled with the essential character of the 'Church School.'" Carried, 13th February, by 55 against 28.

fight at point of sword, and then dine together at dear Bishop of Ely's.

I believe my Report Amendment Speech will come off to-morrow, but it is difficult to say.

I have wiped off to-day the quasi-breach of privilege with quiet and *nem. con.* assent.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
13th February 1884.

Debate upon Church Schools Company began yesterday afternoon, is going on, and, I think, is drawing to a close. I speak in reply at close of Debate, having purposely said a very little, on the ground of my publications.¹ I shall have to speak at some length.

I am thankful that I have raised the Debate, whatever be the vote. There is a very strong feeling in many of our best men on my side.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
14th February 1884.

The timidity of our men—which made them afraid that if “previous question” was lost and my Resolution still stood before the House, a direct negation upon it would be moved, and so, possibly, the House might be placed in the position of directly affirming position of Church Schools Company—led many to vote for “previous question” with our opponents. I do not suppose that the majority would without this have been reversed, but as it was, it was much increased by vote of men on our side.

I am very thankful for Debate. I believe it has opened, and will open, eyes. Men who never went with me in this matter, such as Dean of Exeter (Cowie) and Archdeacon of Totnes (Earle), voted and spoke with me, feeling the whole importance of the case as against the unhappy weakness of the Archbishop.

¹ “The School of the Church Schools Company.” *Vide supra*, p. 281; also “The School in England, Century XIX. A letter to His Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.”

Last night I carried *nem. con.* amendment of great importance on First Resolution in the matter of Report of Ecclesiastical Courts Commision. We are now upon Second Resolution.

I found last evening that the order of proceeding upon the successive Resolutions of the joint Committee of both Provinces would make it very difficult, if not impossible, to move my Amendment, which goes to declare against the entire Report. I therefore said that I should proceed by way of detail upon each Resolution.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
15th February 1884.

Debate going on; very good speaking; impossible to be ended to-night, and I think it clear that it will be adjourned to May—and upon every account it is well that it should be adjourned. Our side is coming out very strong, and in the best way, and any attempt to close it now would assuredly be rejected.

Motion for adjournment of debate 3.30 rejected by 29 to 27; 3.20 P.M. debate going on; renew motion for adjournment of debate later if necessary, and shall prolong debate to the latest hour.

Message from President of Upper House adjourning our sending up Resolutions till May group of Sessions. Meantime, till Schedule of prorogation comes down from him, we go on debating.

To Mrs G. Denison

9th May 1884.

Have been into Lincoln, and well over Cathedral. Some day, please God, we will see it together. It seizes hold on my mind more each time I see it, as the first thing in England, especially outside, and second to none within.

The Bishop wants me there again to-morrow. I told him I could refuse him nothing, and I must do at brief notice the best I can.

I have tumbled, not of my will, into other things, out of which I am getting as well as I can.

First, Geoffrey Simeon, St John's, Gainsboro', came to me in a trouble about use of incense, just now begun by him, without preparation of people. I said to him what I could in the hurry of yesterday, and wrote to him this morning.

Then, not liking to do anything in such a case, even privately, without showing the letter to the Bishop, I took the letter into Lincoln. He read it, and said that it was just the best and kindest thing I could do to send it, and it is gone to-night.

Next Simeon wanted me to come on Sunday evening, and walk at end of procession in a Cope. I told him I had never worn a Cope, and didn't mean to. "Oh," he said, "it's only a white one." I said, "It makes no difference to me about the colour, I cannot do it." Dear man, what he wants is to commit me to his side. Now I am not going to be made use of in this way, especially out of our own Diocese.

Then comes a "Deputation" from Retford to ask me to take the Chair at a meeting at Retford, upon the general position, some time in May—from the Vicar—or Rector—and others. I said it was not possible as respects myself and my time, and that it would not be proper in me to do anything of the kind without the request, or at least the express sanction, of the Bishop of Southwell. They continued pressing me, and said they should write later to me, at which I shook my head and withdrew myself.

To Mrs G. Denison

16 CHESHAM PLACE,
14th May 1884.

Am going down to support Gregory,¹ but I think he will be beat too. The House seems insensible to the vice of what they are doing, and in doing it annex conditions

¹ The Debate was on the Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission. The Archdeacon had on the previous day said, "It was a fallacy to suppose an appeal to the Crown meant necessarily an appeal to the Laity. . . . Such an appeal meant an appeal to the Supremacy, to see that justice was done. . . . The appeal in lay cases was to a lay court, and the appeal in ecclesiastical cases to a spiritual court." Five of the Commissioners had made a statement of their own, and Convocation followed their guidance in voting, "That in

which make any legislation wholly impracticable. The result is a position at once vicious and impracticable—a position very damaging to Convocation necessarily.

Sat by Ainslie last night at dear Bishop of Ely's—Bishop of Chichester other side—made things, I hope, smooth in midst of all our intense differences.

Great fun and much laughing—much like Nero fiddling while Rome was burning. It seems almost impossible to get men to look the worst dangers in the face.

To the Rev. Canon Liddon

EAST BRENT, 24th October 1884.

It was more to make you acquainted with facts of case than for anything else that I wrote my letters to you.

My indisposition to revive controversy, especially painful parts of it, grows fast upon me, and I doubt whether I can be persuaded by myself or others to touch it any more. I go on here, especially as winter closes in, very thankful day by day if nothing takes me from home, and going away only when I must. If I live to 11th December, I shall have reached my eightieth birthday, being then seventy-nine.

Indeed I will say to you that the so-called "lull" which has come upon us is more full of danger, in my mind, and so more distasteful to me, than the preceding course of open assault. The manner of assault has changed; the fact of it remains. There is an undercurrent of Episcopal action which has set in, and is drawing many men off their legs, who thought they were standing on firm ground.

The Church corporate of England, with all its revival by Mercy of God, is rather being taught of the People, as represented in a Parliament of all faiths and no faith, than it is teaching the People. Individual, congregational revival is great and blessed; corporate revival is more

accordance with the constitution of this Church and Realm, the right of appeal for the maintenance of justice, in all ecclesiastical causes, lies to the Crown. But the House cannot acquiesce in the principle of a final settlement of questions involving Doctrine and Ritual by a lay Court, which is not bound in all cases to consult the Spirituality. And this House is further of opinion that a decision in respect of such questions, which had not received the sanction of her spiritual authorities, could not be regarded as the Voice of the Church."

Erastian in nature and character than it was twenty years since. "High Churchmen" in large numbers appear to me to be so transported out of their common-sense even—to say nothing of their Churchmanship—by the remote prospect of getting rid of Judicial Committee and Penzance, that they are even ready to swallow a thing so wholly devoid of even all shadow of Church Principle as "the Lay Court of Final Appeal" in Causes Spiritual.

I put a dilemma.

"Lay Court of Final Appeal," *per se*, is an abomination of desolation. "Lay Court of Final Appeal," not *per se*, but limited and modified, is not a Court of Final Appeal at all.

It becomes an absurdity—called a Court, but not a Court—only five "legal opinions" subject to reversal, without so much as the necessity of lengthened consideration on the part of the Spirituality.

The man must be of a curiously sanguine temperament who thinks that either House of Parliament would receive the proposal to enact a Court, Final and not Final, at once with anything but ἀσβέστῳ γέλωτι. But my dear Liddon, I have not now to learn that "High Churchmen" are the most credulous—so credulous as to become very shallow—of all men as a class with whom I am acquaint.

I tell C. Wood, E.C.U. had better look to keeping up counter under-current with all its means, energies, power, lest we be all swept away before we know where we are.

I have had some letters lately from Hubbard, and find to my great content that he accepts everything I say about "Lay Court of Final Appeal."

To Lady Phillimore

27th December 1884.

Note particularly Latin on title-page,¹ and quasi-corresponding English on back of title-page, as instancing the inexpressible loss the world is sustaining in point of terseness, power, and elegance and taste, by decay of Latin.

I have suggested to Foreign Office the great advantage it would be to it, if they would convey their "ultimata," if they have any "ultimata"—I could not forbear putting it

¹ Pamphlet on Ornaments Rubric in English and Latin.

thus hypothetically—in the Latin tongue, and have offered to render them into that tongue for a moderate remuneration. At least it would save time—for there is no more Latin left abroad than there is at home—and would express meaning in a complete and unmistakable manner, to say nothing of the grace, elegance and dignity which would accrue. English is fast going to ruin, what between the “High Culture” and corresponding muddiness of mind and vulgarity of expression.

I will let you know whether my offer is accepted.

To Miss Caroline Denison

EAST BRENT, 1st April 1885.

What is written page four of dear James’ letter is worth all the discussion that men have made or can make upon this matter.

(Quotation from Rev. J. Denison’s letter)

“Isn’t it nearer the right idea of property when St Thomas Aquinas (not a very modern authority) says that it is lawful for a man to possess things as his own as regards the acquiring and distributing, but not proper for a man to hold things for his own as regards the use of them. In other words, ‘my property is my own, but not to do what I like with, but to do God’s will with.’”

I say that these men are not aiming at what is good. “Good” is what is according to the order of God’s Providence, not what is according to some new order of man’s invention, though this may sentimentally appear very desirable to have in the place of what is, and must ever remain, the fact of the case.

It would be amusing, if it were not very dangerous, to see that what goes by the name of “Religious Socialism” resolves itself, upon careful analysis, into an assumption that the ordering of the world might be a good deal better than it is.

Certainly Century Nineteen is of an “advanced” speculative character, and steeped up to the lips in “the Pride of Life.”

I don't know any class of well-meaning men, good men too, more dangerous—not to society only, but to religion—than the “Christian Socialist.” Their fallacies, which are of the flimsiest description, are so very attractively got up, and take the ordinary intelligence, that is the vast majority of intelligences, by storm.

Suppose their Eutopia realized, and all men to have half-a-crown apiece to begin life with on Monday, three-fourths of them at least would not have it on Tuesday. It would have found a companion or companions in somebody else's pocket. Dear me, what emptiness it all is!

To Sir Walter Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 16th April 1885.

Old Eurus, reigning at least two full months in all the bitterness of his power, is, I think, a very sufficing cause for the very general prostration of the community.

I am a good deal mended, but obliged to shut myself up still, and find myself gradually creeping on to the fireside and out-of-doors inaction of old age.

I can't help being very sorry about this division. Disintegration seems to me to be not far from English Church Union.

Nobody heeds me much now. I am out of date, being a man who does not find it within the compass of his mind to fight a battle and not fight it, all at one and the same time.

But my fighting time is about over. For myself, I am very much where I was in 1829, so far at least as this:

That I held then, so to speak, in undevelopment and in solution, everything I hold now, and so far as I had got, as absolutely as I do now. Life since has developed these things one by one. In other words, I have never held, in the matter of our Religion, any single thing different from what I hold now, many things more largely, clearly and powerfully, but no one thing different. And it has all along been to me a chief cause for thankfulness that at no moment of my life have I had in me so much as the germ of a thought of leaving the English Communion.

As I have lived in these particulars, I pray God I

may die. But, ah me! how much besides all this has to be done!

The whole tone of things public, Ecclesiastical and Civil, goes against me, and I leave home as little as I possibly can.

To Lady Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 13th June 1885.

You will have had my yesterday's letter.

I said nothing about the great break-up,¹ knowing how torn and troubled you must be about it, and having only this to say: That, when the "exigencies" of Liberation made Dilke and Chamberlain members of the Cabinet, I could not doubt that the break-up was only a matter of time, some months more or less.

And now, so far as I seem to grasp the position, I cannot say that to my eyes there is much light in it.

One thing has taken most people by surprise. I cannot say that it has much surprised me. All the evidence we have seems clearly to point to this—that Gladstone was more on the Dilke and Chamberlain side in the Cabinet than upon the other side in respect of "remedial" policy for Ireland.

I am one of those who, having regard to the dark history of England's dealing with Ireland for some five centuries, down to end of eighteenth century, or a little after, have never been able to have any hope of the success of any one of the "remedial" measures taken to repair a wrong so deep-seated as the Irish wrong, least of all Irish disestablishment and the Land Act.

Both appear to me to have been the fruit of what are called "political necessities," and to have no rightful claim to the position of principle. And in this way they run side by side with many other details of English Government. The longer I live the more I enter into the soundness of a phrase often quoted of a man not himself of a high order of mind, but very shrewd, Lord Melbourne—"Why can't you let it alone?"

Democracy, and all its approaches, always meddling with everything it can lay its hand upon, private or public,

¹ Mr Gladstone's Ministry resigned, 12th June, after a defeat on the Budget.

is just the shallowest and the silliest thing that the world knows of.

But more than enough of this; judgments differ, love remains—often most powerful where judgments differ most, and abiding for ever when differences of judgment are gone for ever.

To Lady Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 28th July 1885.

They who write as you write are, under God, their own best comforters; man can add nothing to them except what lies in the ever-present sense of loving sympathy.

We are always thankful to hear of nearest friends coming to you. It is part of the order of natural sorrow, and, I believe, never comes in its place without true and abiding comfort, though it may bring with it what is painful too. When it is over, the comfort returns, and we are thankful that they have been with us.

After all—I hope it is not unkind in me to say it—it is not even the companionship which is the most precious thing: it is the abiding sense of the goodness gone away to its own place, and in the end so filling the heart, that there is no room left for regret and pain. Life remains, apart indeed for a time, but more and more hallowed through many memories, binding together as nothing else can, the past, the present, the to come.

To Lady Phillimore

26th September 1885.

With all you tell us, we are very glad about Shiplake. . . . I have faith in *land*, all present matters notwithstanding.

It seems to me a foolishness—looking at extent of acreage, population, etc.—to think that the land is not going to bear its part in the maintenance of this people. It may, not improbably, be that the mode of employing it must undergo many changes, and that great losses may have to be incurred in these changes, but sooner or later

the land must come in remuneratively, though it be not employed chiefly as it is now.

But then it must not be split up into little bits in the hands of no capital men, nor must the tendency be to multiply small holdings in a country where everything depends upon the power of use of capital. Of all wonderful delusions, there is no one greater than that going about now, that in the new state of thing which a "Liberal" policy proposes, every man is to have at least one cow and two acres of land.

It seems impossible to conceive that anybody should be found to say such things, or anybody so silly as to believe them. But there is no limit on the one hand to the projects of Liberalism, nor to the weakness of Conservatism on the other. As for the middle path between the two, that is, I believe, the worst of the three.

I cannot be far from the end of my time, but no day goes over my head without deepest misgivings of what is coming in the next twenty years, or much sooner.

No disestablishment just at present. Meantime free schools, free in one sense, robbing in the other, because, as I have said for many years, free schools once established, Church Property will be laid hold of forthwith to pay the cost of free schools. But enough of all this for one day.

To Mrs G. Denison

THE ELMS,
BRIDGEWATER, 13th November 1885.

Greater row than I have ever seen last night; three hours of it; no harm done; ended good-humouredly enough at eleven.

When we got down at eight, room had been entirely crammed with platform and gallery an hour before; at least one thousand people in it.

We were about three to one, but other side big enough to keep up row; *no* speaker could be heard at all, neither speaker, nor Chairman least of all.

So I sat in the Chair, and after a little time, told movers and seconders to move and second in dumb show, shouted to the meeting to hold up hands for and against, and declared both Resolutions carried. Then row increased. I saw that an attempt would be made by an ugly rush up

to storm the platform, and called my troops to the front, three deep. It was "a beautiful fit."

The rush came from lower part of room men; women on floor of room rushed before it in wild and screaming mass, were pulled up by us in heaps on platform, and passed to back; enemy rushed in; my men gathered round me in the Chair. After a short but sharp struggle they hurled back the foe, and drew up again in line four deep on edge of platform. No lull of noise, singing, howling; one or two smaller rushes disposed of, and we held our own.

Some few wanted me to go—in which case enemy would have seized platform and held a meeting of their own. I refused to move—said I would sit in Chair all night, and my men stood fast. It was beautiful; very like a small Waterloo, but no firearms, nor any violence except strong shoving, and no missiles. Superintendent of Police asked me to wait patiently till he could see what could be done. I sat in the Chair half-asleep, drinking water now and then, hat on head, stick in hand, keeping eye on my men on either side of Chair, guarding the platform. At last, towards eleven, Superintendent came again, and said that leaders on either side offered that if I and my men would leave platform, they engaged to make no attempt to occupy it, and would leave the room. Did I assent? I said certainly I did.

So I got up, took off my hat, made a first-rate salutation, and told meeting we were going, and that I should remain when all my men were gone, the only one on the platform. Shouts of applause. My men wanted to stay with me, but I said, "Go, every one of you," and drove them away by side entrance.

Then I made three more graceful salutations to the foe, and said that I was sure the time would come when we should understand one another better. They were very good-humoured, evidently pleased that I had trusted in their pledge given, and gave me a parting salute as I went down the steps, the last man. Got into carriage, drove home without any hindrance—tea—soda-water—bed.

No disturbance apprehended at Crewkerne. Bridgewater is the plague-spot with its surroundings, and unless I have assurance that all will be decently quiet there, it is obviously not my business to attempt another such meeting as that of last night. . . . This my despatch from headquarters, morning after battle. Casualties few, except to

some chairs, and here and there a squeeze and pinch of troops. It was really pleasant to stand quite by myself on platform, which had held some one hundred and fifty men just before, and look upon the sea of faces and surging people in floor of room and gallery at end. So we had our "meeting," carried our resolutions, and both sides withdrew upon an honourable understanding fully observed on both sides.

I believe last night has done service to the cause of order and decency, and has not left any increase of ill-humour behind it, but rather the contrary.

Please read despatch to reserve forces assembled at home.

To Miss Caroline Denison

2nd February 1886.

Gladstone is just like Chorus in a Greek play—remonstrating in fine words against murderous proposals, in act assenting to their propriety and fitness, and pressing that they be done. It is possible—whether hopeful remains to be seen—that huge national disaster may open eyes of England more generally to certain issues of—

Parnell and Chamberlain Government, nominally

Gladstone Government of 1886—

Parnell—Dismemberment of Empire—Decline and Fall.

Chamberlain—Overthrow of Church and Crown—Fall and Ruin.

Benevolent Genius—W. E. GLADSTONE.

"Well, if it must, it must—but be guided by me. It is your only chance of—what? of keeping your places under yourselves and the Mob. Now that Church and Crown are gone, am sorry, very, but I am the 'only man who can govern England.'"

How close upon fulfilment old Palmerston's words about Gladstone, which I know to be exact truth:

"That fellow will destroy everything we have got left," and—I forbear to add the concluding words.

To Miss Caroline Denison

17th March 1886.

As for Conservatives, they are generally owls. I get very much out of patience with them, having never been able to think them worth much in a real fight. We shall

see, if they ever awake really, what they will do. Convocation Conservatism was too much for my Constitution—to say nothing of Parliamentary.

To Mrs G. Denison

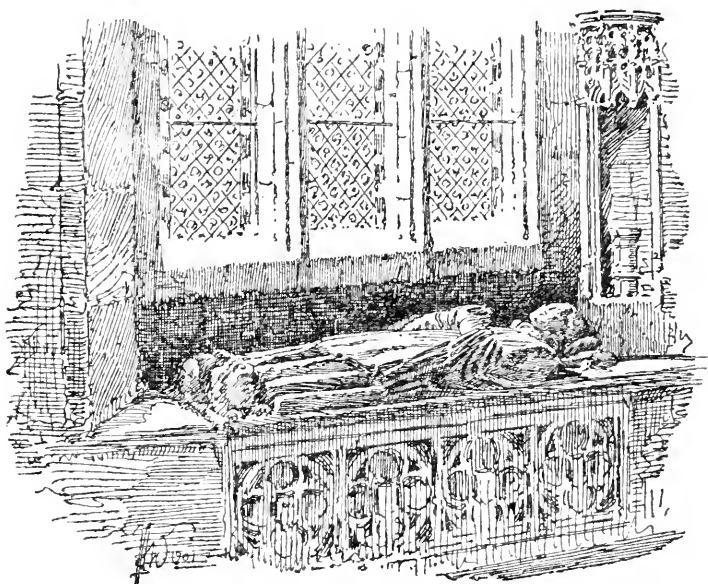
CREWKERNE, 5th May 1886.

Two capital days at Taunton and Crewkerne—very hearty, very useful, quite unanimous. Charge accepted as of right sort.

My host here, Mr Holme, a Liberal, came to the dinner, spoke, expressed his entire concurrence in all that I had said about Defence of Church; party very strong.

Beautiful dinner at dear old "George," Crewkerne. It was Chard market—which the Registry People should have guarded against, but didn't—and this carried off many Churchwardens.

But we were near forty at dinner—and at Taunton near one hundred—many Crewkerne Deanery people coming to Taunton. I am much struck by the depth and strength of feeling on the part of the Laity which the time has called, and is calling, forth.



ANCIENT MONUMENT, EAST BRENT CHURCH.

1887-1889

1887.—ARCHDEACON DENISON, living in a cheese-making county, had long been indignant at the introduction of a so-called American Cheddar Cheese, and alluded to this in more than one letter.

In another letter he described the building of a great bonfire on Brent Knoll, in the year of the Queen's first Jubilee.

1888 was a year full of anxiety, caused by an attack made upon Bishop King, of Lincoln, by two so-called parishioners of the parish of St Peter-at-Gowts, Lincoln, and two others from Cleethorpe in Lincolnshire.

The Archdeacon moved in the matter with all the

energy of his younger days, going up to Oxford, and spending much time in London, in order to prepare a Declaration and Remonstrance, to be sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury, signed by thousands of both Clergy and Laity. A special feature of the movement was the establishment of a women's Committee to collect women's signatures, which was done with remarkable success.

1889.—The Bishop of Lincoln protested against the Jurisdiction claimed by Archbishop Benson, and claimed to be tried before the Metropolitan and the Comprovincial Bishops. The Archbishop decided in favour of his own sole jurisdiction. The Archdeacon strove in Convocation and elsewhere to rouse people's minds to a sense of the gravity of the matter, and signatures, both of men and women, poured in until Christmas, when the Declaration and Remonstrance were considered to be complete.

To Lady Phillimore

31st January 1887.

A most pleasant two days at Longleat. Lord Bath and I have always got on very well together, and she is charming, and the children too. We made great friends all round.

It is a wonderfully grand house outside and in, with a great many beautiful things, and some very wonderful tapestry. Chapel in house every morning at nine, and chaplain.

Hanbury Tracy, who has succeeded Bennet at Frome, with his wife—old friends—came with me, and I inducted him Tuesday night. Church holds 1200 people sitting; many more in it. I asked Lord Bath, as Patron, to be present and take his part in the Procession, which he consented to do at once, and it pleased the people. I have introduced these public Inductions in this Diocese. The People take wonderful interest in them.

Many Cheese farmers come and thank me for my

Cheese Battle¹ and they have elected me Member of Agricultural Society, West of England. It costs me a guinea a year, and I shall never go—but I am glad to fight for dear old Cheddar Cheese. My opponent, after some vigorous language on both sides, has, as it were, retaining his side of the argument, fallen into complimentary and affectionate language. I think I have rather got the better of him, and have answered sweetly, but as yet there has been no public reconciliation.

To Viscount Halifax

EAST BRENT, 2nd February 1887.

Your letter, as always, refreshes my spirit. I have thought all along that we owe all falseness of position to the Archbishop's action, or non-action, in his proper place as Primate of all England.

Oh! for one hour of an Archbishop with a little bit of backbone! Tait had plenty, only it had got twisted, and took time to get untwisted. London has a deal, only a little stiff. Benson has absolutely none, and has fallen among the roughest stones an Archbishop's carriage has travelled through for many a year. No doubt the playing into each other's hands of Judicial Committee, Lord Penzance, and Church Association makes true action alarming to a weak man; but if a man is placed in the position of having to defend and maintain the Church Catholic in England, at close of Century XIX., he must at least be something of a man.

The adversary, or adversaries, are sharp enough: the Archbishop has no sharpness in him—very good man and kind, but a more unfit guide in action in a critical time could not be found.

I never hear anybody say any other than this—men in Parliament or out of it—in London and in country. He had a grand position and a great opportunity: he has compromised the one and lost the other.

Well, I suppose I shall die battling for Church of England as I have lived. Meantime, the loving kindness of dear and honoured friends cheers me more than I can say.

¹ In defence of Cheddar Cheese against its American rival. A bit of Cheddar Cheese, many years old, dry, but, as the Archdeacon claimed, quite sweet, was kept under a glass shade in the entrance hall of East Brent Vicarage as a sample of the excellence of the real article.

To Lady Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 6th March 1887.

You tell me many things,

“Good and bad,
Happy and sad.”

Colonel Denison,¹ Canada, is an old and dear friend of mine. He has been here twice—the second time with two of his daughters, very pleasing girls and charmed with all they saw of England. He gave me his book—the prize book—and letters pass between us from time to time.

It appears that they come from a branch of the name, East Riding; went to Canada end of last Century. There inaugurated the Bodyguard of the Governor. It has been commanded by a Denison ever since. Colonel Denison, the present chief, has built himself a house in an island on a lake somewhere, and wanted us to go out to him and live and fish for a time. But that was a kindly imagination and could no further go. He represents one of the many scattered branches of the name, who have communicated with me about connection with our branch—as you may suppose without any result. *Ex nihilo nihil fit*, saith the poet atheistical.

I have read bits of Carnarvon's "Odyssey," which T. Sanderson² sent me, and Carnarvon did not. I thought very well of it, but translations are destructive of power.

I am busy about two things, but don't expect much fruit from either.

1. I am Chairman of a Committee down here to try to raise money for Woodard's school at Taunton, which he bought for £8000, under a pledge from County folk to pay up—which they have never done. The Buildings had cost £23,000, and, by concurrence of circumstances, were for sale at £8000.

Woodard³ tells me that the Duke of Newcastle has

¹ Lieut.-Col. George T. Denison, then Commander of the Governor-General of Canada's Bodyguard, author of "Modern Cavalry," "A History of Cavalry," "Soldiering in Canada."

² Sir T. Sanderson, G.C.B. Permanent Under-Secretary of the Foreign Office; great-nephew of Archdeacon Denison.

³ Nathaniel Woodard, founder of a large system of excellent middle-class Church Schools, now known as the Corporation of SS. Mary and Nicholas. The first school was S. John's, Hurstpierpoint, opened 1853. King Alfred's College, Taunton, was bought by him in 1880. In 1870 he was appointed Canon of Manchester. He died in 1891

proposed to give him 40 acres of land near Clumber—no doubt for a second great school. But times are very poor, and the prospect of money coming in is not what it was. He told me last year that the money that had passed through his hands in the last (about) forty years for the three schools only, in Sussex, Lancing, Hurstpierpoint, Ardingley, had been not less than half a million.

My other business is about getting people together at Highbridge, as our most convenient County place to consider about making some provision of aid for the very poor suffering Clergy.

My starting-point is that every Diocese should first of all care for its own Clergy, instead of throwing its contribution into a common fund in London. I have written to my two brother Archdeacons, but as yet have not had time for their reply.

Something must very surely be done.

Lord Salisbury's speech, Friday night, upon Patronage Bill, I think the best instance of Christian Statesmanship I have seen for many a day.

To Viscount Halifax

EAST BRENT, 1st May 1887.

It is, I need not say it, always very sad to me when I cannot be of same mind with you.

It has been borne in upon me with irresistible force now for many months that, in entire keeping with my deepest convictions, I should most grievously break down at close of my life, if I had so much as a moment's thought of hesitation in respect of the primary and paramount duty of moving in Lower House of Convocation of Canterbury for making prayer now for National Synod.

That it must have to be done before the Church of England pass away is, I suppose, not admitting of disputes. Every moment that the first effort towards it is now delayed is so much worst injury done to the one true position, and if I stood quite alone, I should do precisely as I am, please God, about to do.

My knowledge of the House, of its habits, and its tone, is not calculated to make me sanguine of success—but one thing is, thank God, abundantly plain to me—that it is,

under every aspect, my positive duty to make the attempt, and that I may not permit any amount of representation to interfere with my making it.

Now let me say one thing more only. I am wholly unable to understand what the waiting policy means, and how it can be made to consist with the facts of the present position as taken by the Bishop of Lincoln. No man can say that he is for waiting. He has distinctly and emphatically placed everything upon the present issue. It is for us all either what he insists upon, or it is nothing. We may hesitate about this, but if we will look the matter openly in the face, as it is, I think it may be said with utmost reason that there is but one conclusion to which it is possible for us to come. I am about to ask for that conclusion in my proper place in the "Church by Representation." I do this as my bounden duty in the position in which the Church has now been definitely placed by Legislature and its Judiciary, the position of completest subservience by way of final Appeal of Church to State.

I cannot, for one, I know I may not, sit still, fold my hands, do nothing and wait as things are now.

Protest, Remonstrance are words only—always have been. If God permit anything to be done, it has to be done by act of the only Body which has it committed to it to act with authority—The National Synod.

It has fallen to me to begin—for the end it remains to pray.

Please keep this letter. It may be wanted some day in my vindication.

To Lady Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 20th June 1887.

Hurry tremendous all these days. Such a bonfire,¹ built up as nobody could have conceived; stands some 15 feet high by 12 square.

Am going to dine with the South Brent people by invitation.

Now for times. Was going to write as soon as I got

¹ Jubilee Bonfire built on the top of Brent Knoll. The Archdeacon was drawn up to the steep summit and lit it himself. Brent Knoll commands the surrounding flat country. The answering bonfire was on Glastonbury Tor.

your letter, to say that I find I could come tidily Saturday afternoon, stay Sunday, and whisk back Monday morn. Will that suit you?

To Miss Denison

EAST BRENT, 27th September 1887.

It is very good hearing that you are still where I left you, and hope you may abide still. I am quite well, but cannot walk about much without being tired. Fresh air and exercise do not appear to me, for at least six months of the year, to be at all necessary in my case. There is a fresh air element in this house which displays itself in open windows and doors. Sometimes I think when I am out of my own room, my castle, that I might as well sit on the stairs. Dear G—— watches over me and shuts up, which, considering that she lives mainly upon fresh air, is a beautiful example of self-denial.

To Lady Phillimore

20th October 1887.

G—— takes charge of organ and singing in Henry's¹ absence—always ready, like all her family, to do her best. For my part, much as I love to hear Henry play, I am quite sensible that the excellence of music very commonly comes in place of many defects in the people who sing. Now G——'s object has always been to provide against manner of carelessness in singing, content with true playing, not troubling about fine playing, most glad to have both the careful singing and the fine playing together. . . .

The life of Politics has become a life of almost unmixed weariness without any corresponding advantage. I think William IV. had much the best of it. "Doesn't your Majesty read the *Times*?"

"I sometimes read the Advertisements."

¹ Rev. Henry Denison.



ARCHDEACON AND MRS DENISON IN THEIR GARDEN.

[To face page 308.]

To the Rev. C. S. Grueber

EAST BRENT, 25th October 1887.

I waste no words upon your patience, candour, research and loving kindness. But I say this—

That to comment upon and illustrate the Catechism from Holy Scripture and the Prayer Book, and not to set out most emphatically and distinctly what is the true order and dependence of the three temptations of man, would, in my judgment, destroy the value of entire comment and illustration.

I hope I do not say it presumptuously, but I say it positively, that the one sentence at the close of your letter in which, after giving the various reasonings upon the point of order, you proceed, "Singularly, none refer to St John's words as bearing upon St Luke's order," is conclusive, because in itself sufficient proof that none of these commentators have understood what is the vital importance of the point they discuss, to the true understanding of the Gospel of Christ as revealed to man.

It is impossible for me to admit for one moment that comments such as these avail to make the interpretation doubtful, and therein to damage the confidence of Teacher and Reader. If there is to be any confidence in either, the foundation of the entire comment and illustration must be one and absolute in all its parts, not split up into little bits not fitting into each other, and not making one whole as revealed to man from Genesis to Revelation, both inclusive. I purposely do not go into any of their reasonings. If I admitted that any one of them or all together, were of any value, and as such worthy any consideration, I should begin to waver about the One Faith myself. "I do not know what is the beginning and the end of the temptations of man. I do not know what Holy Scripture teaches me about this. It is dark to me how I can be found to understand Holy Scripture, where it is so distinctly given to understand it, if I allow private interpretation to confuse and unsettle me."

The Church of England in third answer in her Catechism, has put the order of the Temptation in its simple Truth. It is nothing but pride of Intellect—"the Pride of Life," which would persuade the mind that there is

any real difficulty coming out of the difference in order in St Matthew and St Luke, with St John and with Genesis.

I am sure that you must see that if we comment upon and illustrate Catechism from Holy Scripture and the Prayer Book, we must not, may not, leave the foundation in any manner of doubt. The Temptation of the Devil, "the Pride of Life," with the two other Temptations following straightway upon its success, is the foundation upon which Incarnation, Atonement, Redemption, rest, *i.e.*, became the good Providence of God, for the saving of the Soul. To put out Comment and illustration of Catechism of Church of England, which does not proceed beginning, middle, end, upon this foundation only, is a thing which to my heart and mind ought not to be done. The ground of doing it being the "private interpretation" of men, serves only to make the negation and rejection of it absolutely the more necessarily emphatic and distinct and positive, if "comment and illustration" is to do its proper work by the blessing of God.

*To the Rev. Prebendary Richards*¹

EAST BRENT, 10th December 1887.

I have to thank you for your kind courtesy in sending me Copy of Memorial *in re* Elementary Education.

Your time is too valuable for many words in reply in a matter on which I have been employed thinking, concluding, speaking, publishing, for now at least forty-five years. My mind upon it is exactly where it was in 1842. I have lived to see the iniquity first hatched in 1833, carried out to its only possible issue by the Act of 1870, and the successive developments thereof.

In my letter to Gladstone, published in 1847, I anticipated all the successive steps to that issue, save only the concluding step of the Time Table Conscience Clause, as imposed upon and bribed into the Schools of the Church of England. This development of the astute and unostentatious policy of 1833 had not till 1870 thrust its dark face into the Tableau of Indifferentism in the matter which is still, in the exercise of an unique hardihood, called Education in the principles of the Church of England.

¹ Vicar of St Giles in the Fields, and Prebendary of St Paul's.

On these grounds it is wholly impossible for me to concur in a Memorial which, either expressly or by implication, comprises the words "under the direction and with the assistance of the State."

To Rev. W. H. Fowle

EAST BRENT, 22nd December 1887.

To call a thing "Diocesan," and then to make it "partisan," is about one of the worst mockeries conceivable, having regard to the historical position of the Church of England.

To lay out for what goes by the name of a "quiet day," and to begin it with putting your seal to cardinal differences of belief against the order of the church in which you are acting, is another like mockery.

I cannot but be very sorry that before B—— "gave his Church," he was not careful to ascertain "what manner of man" the Missioner or "Quiet man" was. I should myself have anticipated something very like what he proved to be.

Failing this, I have my doubts about "staying away" being the remedy, unless it was accompanied with public protest against the abuse of the use of the Church "given."

I had heard nothing about this onslaught on the Faith, under the pretence of ministering according to it.

Differences in themselves vital are sad troubles; and when it comes to being forced to Protest against a Diocesan Missioner and "Quiet man," coming with the authority of the Bishop of the Diocese, the matter becomes yet more troublous.

To the Bishop of London

EAST BRENT, 30th June 1888.

venture to address you, because in my eighty-third year I should be sorry to think, from previous passages in my life, that there was so much as any remains of a cloud between us.

I know well that I have been all along what is commonly called an "extreme" man. I have never been

able, nor am I now, to see my way to any other position; and a Memorial or Representation of my own only, about to be delivered to the Archbishop at Lambeth, Monday next, for Presentation to Conference, will certainly not detract from the sense commonly attached, with or without cause, to that description of me.

My comfort is that, God helping me, I have quarrelled with no man, and if—which is very probably the case—I have hurt or offended many, my prayer is that before I die, there may be nothing but peace even where there may be the widest differences of judgment.¹

To the Rev. Canon Liddon

EAST BRENT, 8th September 1888.

Men, "Ritualist" and "non-Ritualist," but more or less Catholic-minded, are all in heart and mind troubled and anxious about the proceedings against the two Bishops.²

Whether they be equally alive to what those proceedings mean is another question. Whether, again, being alive to what the proceedings mean, men are prepared to do all they possibly can to manifest to all men what their sense of the position is, is a third question.

My own sense of it is keen and clear.

Those who have pulled the strings see this—

1. That the Legislative and the Judicial are not only "anti-Ritualist" but "anti-Catholic."
2. That if they can succeed in bringing the Proceedings to the issue they desire, they will have established a vantage ground against the Ritualist and the Catholic, upon which to build up the Puritan position as the rule of Church of England, and in no long time will get a new Prayer Book of their own making.

¹ The Bishop of London (Right Rev. F. Temple) responded most kindly to this letter, and added "God grant us both to have 'Salt in ourselves and peace one with another.'"

² Right Rev. Bishop J. King of Lincoln. At the same time there was an attempt made by a mandamus from the Court of Queen's Bench to compel the Bishop of London to try a case about the Reredos in St Paul's Cathedral. The Court of Appeal refused to confirm this decision, and the attempt fell through.

This means, obviously and necessarily, disruption of the Church.

It may be, all this notwithstanding, that men will be either so indifferent or so idle as to fold their hands and do not even what it is in their power to do to prevent an issue so fatal.

On the other hand, it seems not possible to doubt that if the same men will come together to express publicly their disapproval of the attempt to coerce not "Ritualism" only, but its founding element, "Catholicity," it would help powerfully to stay the plague.

This not by any formal power but by legitimate influence.

I want, therefore, originated on all our parts, and set in action by such coming together in London, a monster signature of Clergy and People throughout England to a Declaration issuing from Public Meeting in London.

I am very sure that this signature is to be had at the call of such Public Meeting duly carried out throughout England.

In order to Public Meeting there must be first a private meeting, as in letter of mine No. 2, published in *Guardian* and herein enclosed.

If such private meeting affirm the principle of a Declaration, they must have a "Draft" Declaration to go to work upon, as upon the raw Material; otherwise the private meeting would only issue in hopeless and hasty conclusion. Such Draft Declaration I have prepared to the best of my power, after long and careful thought upon it in all its aspects, and it is gone to Press, and will be published in a few days, in order to give time for thorough consideration of it in all its parts.

You will not understand me as assuming *a priori* that you concur with my view of this matter; but I could not satisfy myself not to put myself plainly before you, just as I cannot cease meantime from praying earnestly to God that you will be with me.

To Mrs G. Denison

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD,
7th November 1888.

A great private meeting of Oxford's best men. We have shortened even my short Declaration.¹ I told them with my heartiest approval and thankfulness and concurrence, adding to impress of curtailment all its simplicity and strength.

The President of Magdalen² moved the thanks to me in a very touching speech ; all most kind and helpful to me. Bright and Paget more particularly. Bright moving adoption of draft generally, and then proceeding to amend beautifully. I am right thankful that I came, and much more than satisfied with result. God be thanked and praised. Will send you Draft as it now stands to-morrow. I stand by it now as amended to-day. Anything omitted which I care about I can easily put into my speech without making it part of the Declaration. Tell Henry that Gore,³ at first objecting, upon insertion of some words which I thought an improvement, expressed his willingness to sign.

In a word, I lack nothing to be content, and more than content, and thankful above all things.

Have been into President's House ; a truly wonderful house and most lovely room in which dear old Routh lived and died. Magdalen all through is an entirely beautiful place ; even the modern part is sanctified by the rest.

¹ The Declaration was put forth in its final form by a meeting of Churchmen. held at Westminster Palace Hotel, 13th November 1888. At an ordinary meeting on 11th December, the E.C.U. pledged itself to give its utmost support to Archdeacon Denison's Declaration. The Form of Declaration was as follows :—"We, the undersigned priests, deacons, and lay members of the Church of England, being persuaded that under the present condition of Discipline in the Church the promoting of a particular class of proceedings at law directed against certain manner or manners of worship of God in the cathedrals, churches, and chapels thereof is a scandal to Religion, an injury and hindrance to the growth of the spiritual life, and cannot promote Unity or even permit peace : Do hereby, to and before the whole English people, make this our Declaration and Remonstrance against the promoting of such proceedings."

² The Rev. Dr Warren.

³ The Rev. C. Gore.

To Mrs G. Denison

11th November 1888.

Celebration this morning at 8—great number of Communicants ; Matins at 10.30. ; forgot to keep awake at sermon, but heard enough to know it was good ; have not been out since—writing all rest of day ; quite well, not a bit tired.

West¹ came up from Lincoln, Saturday. Went same afternoon to Sandringham ; comes back to-morrow afternoon. I am to go with him into society at night. He has bronchial asthma, but is mending, and will, I think, soon be better at Cannes, where he and the Curate go to take charge of the Prince of Wales' Church, Thursday next. Then I shall begin organizing on Wednesday, till after 20th, my city dinner day, when I hope I may be able to get home a bit ; but I think there will be much to be done to arrange properly. Must be at E.C.U. Office early to-morrow to settle about a great many things.

Bishop Designate of Chester,² much pleased with No. 4, and will do all he can, if wanted, to insure an unanimous vote. I feel very comfortable about it. But one can never tell till one sees in these things. I hope and believe they will all do what I ask them to do. They express themselves so thankful to me for making the move.

The religious, or rather anti-religious, conditions of the great mass of the undergraduates at both Oxford and Cambridge is very terrible, but, I am sadly afraid, not worse than in my time, with all its outward forms. Still, it is nothing else than a pronounced setting-up of souls baptized into outspoken subjection to their own will instead of so much as even outward decency of obedience to the Church's call.

And it is very sad to see how the College authorities are really not only conniving at, but aiding the miserable position.

Attendance at Chapel used to be an obligation. Now you may go to Chapel, or answer to a roll-call in Hall before Chapel, which most undergraduates do, tumbling out of bed, and rushing about very little dressed into Hall, and then going back to bed, or getting up as they please.

¹ Rev. R. T. West, Vicar of S. Mary Magdalene's, Paddington.

² The Right Rev. F. J. Jayne, consecrated 1888.

It seems to me a monstrous thing to allow in a place where "The Lord is my Light" is the University motto still.

I think I know all that can be said on the other side, but still this thing leaves a dead weight upon my heart and mind. It is just the same at Cambridge if I remember right.

I am disposed to think that the women will rise to a woman. I shall certainly give them the opportunity, and must get all the introductions I can.

To Mrs G. Denison

65 WIMPOLE STREET,
15th November 1888.

I see I shall have very great and good assistance in the work.

This afternoon first interview with the women—some few of them. It is remarkable that though I stated it openly at the meeting, neither there nor anywhere else is there a word against the Women's Address, but great acceptance of it.

Up at five morning. Wrote a letter and did my packing before West's last Celebration at 7.30. He is now gone and I came here to breakfast.

"Sir," said an old gentleman to me, "are you going in a hansom in the rain?" "Well," I said, "if I couldn't get a hansom, I should go in a cart or wheelbarrow."

"Sir, you are a very remarkable man."

To Mrs G. Denison

65 WIMPOLE STREET,
18th November 1888.

I am publishing about Women's Committees. It is a coincidence to me remarkable and to be noted that the second Lesson, evensong, yesterday, First Sunday in Epiphany, contains for 18th November the beautiful place, 2 Timothy i. 5, showing primary and hereditary blessing of Woman's teaching of the unfeigned faith. What the new Lectionary has done here I do not know,

nor much care to know, but as fact and date is, I am able to insist upon it in addressing the women as a coincidence very remarkable. It may by God's Blessing do very good service every way.

Everybody seems to be greatly in favour of the separate Declaration and Remonstrance of Women.

To Mrs G. Denison

THE ENGLISH CHURCH UNION,
COMMITTEE ROOM, 20th November 1888.

I can convey no idea of the continual need of my presence here ; the work not harassing, but continuous, and not able to go on without me.

I don't call Committee together unless I specially require them. Colonel Hardy's¹ help is so great, and with thorough knowledge of all required, and so kindly and heartily given, that I could very well do without any other. But I am very thankful to have my other Committee men about me whenever it is necessary to summon them, and, of the number, Secretary and Treasurer are essential, and the other three most pleasant and most helpful ; four Laymen two Clergy including myself.

We sit privately in President's Room E.C.U. But the first issue, of which I enclose copy explaining itself, is going out to some four hundred influential names for the carrying of more weight than if it had been signed by myself only as Chairman, and avoids all reference to E.C.U.

I am told at Office that since my move took effect the sending names to E.C.U. has increased wonderfully.

I see no prospect of being able to get away at present. They want me in Chair of Council, Tuesday 27th, in dear Halifax's necessary absence on account of Lord Devon's death.

And it was only this morning when I woke with my head clear that I saw my way to the organising of the London women, about which all yesterday I had been considering without coming to conclusion. I believe I see it all now.

But we have not completed yet, nor shall, at soonest, till to-morrow night, the issuing of the men's circular, or

¹ Secretary of E.C.U.

rather of the issuing the letter to chief persons asking their help in issuing it, so as to come before Churchmen in its most favourable shape.

These are all things which require consideration and reconsideration, and when I come to put them before Hardy before finally issuing, his head is so clear that he sees his way at once, and supplies the remedy well put into words. But till I get it quite to my content I am always disturbing myself about it, and it all takes thought and time.

To Lady Phillimore

COMMITTEE ROOM, 21st November 1888.

Here, all day past, present, and for many days, perhaps weeks, to come, Sundays excepted. Out of a heap of newspaper reports, some twenty, coming to me this morning, I send one—others, some of them “Evangelical” others wobbling, not condemning; many not yet comprehending the whole course of what has been a three months’ very difficult matter to deal with; others falling into the poor mistake that I was dictating to the meeting instead of guiding it to the best of my power.

Having entirely succeeded in what was required in order to a great general signature, and the entire conduct of the remainder, in carrying out the unanimous vote of the meeting, being committed into my hands also by unanimous vote, I trouble myself nothing about what people may say of me. I knew well beforehand it would come, but I know I was not a little vexed for some minutes by finding the blundering of some and the weakness of others who ought to have known me better, and understood more clearly what it was that I was about, and the whole scope and end of it.

I was dining last night at the great gathering in the Mercers’ Hall, and men came round me to thank me, and to say that no man in England but me could have done what was done last Tuesday, and that if any other man had been in the Chair, the whole thing might probably have been wrecked, so far as the primary point of an unanimous vote was concerned. The vote was abundantly safe, but I asked for an unanimous vote, and I got it, partly by what some called dictating, but was nothing but

advising and guiding, and partly by my natural disposition to make things as easy and pleasant as I can.

So, upon the whole, I am well, and more than well, content, and very thankful. It has been three months' very hard work before meeting, day and night. The Committee work, though incessant, is not trying, and I have six excellent men, Secretary, Treasurer, etc., at my side, and so I suppose we shall be going on for some time to come, because there is very much indeed to be done to "carry out" the vote in and out of London.

To Mrs G. Denison

COMMITTEE ROOM,
3 ADAM STREET, ADELPHI.

You will have seen in *Guardian*, next to Bishop of Lincoln's Pastoral, my correspondence with Carnarvon; also my letter at head of correspondence with Talbot's and Gore's.

Of all letters that I have ever received, I do not remember anything so unintelligible as Gore's, or so full of misstatements distinctly implied, though not expressly set down. I have been compelled to take up valuable time in writing reply to it for the cause's sake, and am sorely grieved at having been forced to do this. But, oh dear me, "Save me from my friends!"

Men's first general issue goes out in part to-day. I wait for the women's, principal people, inviting signature, and suppose I may get that out by end of next week; but it is hard to say. It is difficult to tie big people down to the busy work of these things.

To the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury

COMMITTEE ROOM, 3 ADAM STREET,
ADELPHI, 15th December 1888.

MY DEAR LORD ARCHBISHOP,—As Chairman of Committee directed to be formed by Meeting of Clergy and Laity, 13th November 1888, it is my first duty to submit for your Grace's information the Circular enclosed, bearing about 580 leading and representative names,

as an invitation to the People of England and Wales to sign the Declaration and Remonstrance therein referred to.

To that Declaration and Remonstrance, a far larger number of names inviting and consenting have been received, and Sheets for Signature are in course of general issue.

A separate list of Women of the Church of England, inviting Signature, will be published and circulated in like manner as soon as possible. I beg further to enclose Copy of Letter respectfully addressed to Archbishops and Bishops.

COMMITTEE ROOM, 3 ADAM STREET,
ADELPHI, 16th December 1888.

I hope that in one of the greatest anxieties of my life, I am not doing wrong in adding to my letter, addressed, with its inclosures, to your Grace yesterday, the wish to know whether your Grace has any objection to my making public the fact that that letter has been addressed to your Grace, together with the letter itself as so addressed.¹

I need hardly say it—I am not asking of your Grace any letter in reply to my request, to be published with the letter of yesterday, but simply the power of being able to say that I have your Grace's permission to make the letter of yesterday public.

To Mrs G. Denison

THE ENGLISH CHURCH UNION,
LONDON, 14th January 1889.

Very amiable and cordial Committee; have settled ourselves in good form for the fight,² which may be said to be now fairly begun. Cordial assent from Lincoln; have sent it to *Guardian*.

¹ The Archbishop replied that he had received the two letters of 15th and 16th inst., and two enclosures in the first, and thought it was quite as much within the Archdeacon's discretion to say that he had sent them as to send them.

² In January 1889, the Archbishop of Canterbury cited the Bishop of Lincoln to appear before him and answer to charges made against him by two parishioners of Cleethorpe (Lincoln Diocese), and two of St Peter-at-Gowts in the city of Lincoln.

The Bishop of Lincoln protested against the jurisdiction of the

4 HEREFORD GARDENS,
16th January 1889.

The arrangement about Women's signatures is—

1. That all women's signatures coming either direct to me, or to 3 Adam Street, Adelphi, or to E.C.U., be sent down by the same night's post to me at E. Brent, Bridgewater. These tabulated as we have begun with them, and sent back *by return of post* to

Col. Hardy,
English Church Union
35 Wellington Street,
Strand.

For the Printers.

2. Any men's signatures in the women's sheets to be taken out and sent up to Col. Hardy at same time.
3. Any women's signatures in men's sheets to be sent down to me, East Brent, Bridgewater. I think all the rest may stand over till I come.

I only printed 100 of each of the subscription letters. I will order more when I come, or perhaps before I come.

To Mrs G. Denison

17th January 1889.

Clergy very sluggish ; half don't understand, a quarter more don't care, even on our side.

But, please God, they will wake up. It was curious to see at the Council on Tuesday how they took in the actual position when I put it to them very directly from the Chair, and ended in acquiescing unanimously in what I wanted.

Court, claiming to be tried "before the Metropolitan and the Com-provincial Bishops." The Archbishop heard Counsel on this point, and on 11th May decided in favour of his own sole jurisdiction.

The Bishop of Lincoln appeared by Counsel before the Court, but under protest, not acknowledging the jurisdiction claimed.

The Archbishop gave judgment, 21st November 1890, in favour of the Bishop of Lincoln, on five of the eight charges brought against him.

The Prosecutors appealed to the Privy Council.

On 2nd August 1893, the Privy Council affirmed the Archbishop's Judgment on all points.

A brother Archdeacon—don't know who—said to me this morning, when I used the words about “something behind his back”—“Nobody ever sees your back, it is always your face.” Pretty compliment.

*To Sir Walter Phillimore*¹

EAST BRENT, 24th January 1889.

I marvel what that thing is which will wake up the English mind to all that is involved in the present Position, Ecclesiastical and Civil.

My dear old friend and neighbour Stephenson²—*Benevolus et caliginosus*—writes to me:

“I am deeply thankful for the decision at which the Bishop of Lincoln is said to have arrived, and I know that our own Bishop is hopeful that things may now take a favourable turn, and that all may terminate without painful heartburnings on either side.”

My reply is not so sanguine, or indeed sanguine at all. I tell him there are three issues of the Position possible.

1. That the Court may say that the “offences” imputed are not “offences” at all.

That with anything less we cannot be content, because we may not. On the other hand, this issue places us in direct collision not only with Nineteenth-Century Law, Ecclesiastical and Civil, but with the whole Evangelical Body. What would content us must displease them to the utmost.

2. That certain things charged against the Bishop of Lincoln are offences, or of the nature of offence, and that certain other things so charged are not.

This would only be a miserable attempt at a compromise of highest and most sacred Trust.

3. That the offences charged are offences all of them, and that the Bishop be admonished thereupon.

¹ He was the Bishop of Lincoln's counsel, though under protest against the Jurisdiction, and argued the case in the library of Lambeth Palace where the trial took place.

² Rev J. H. Stephenson, rector of Lympsham, Somerset, and Prebendary of Wells.

This, coming from a Court wholly Spiritual, against the Catholic, and for the Evangelical, element, would no longer be a shifting and uncertain voice as it is now, but a combination of the element Evangelical with the Courts Spiritual and Temporal against the Catholic.

I add that, for the issue which he anticipates, there is nothing now left but to put the Law of Judicial Committee, and Judicial Committee itself, in matters of Doctrine and Worship, into the waste-paper basket, and with them, all other Nineteenth-Century Laws in matter of Doctrine and Worship—and to begin with the Evangelical leaving the Catholic alone, as the Catholic leaves the Evangelical alone.

All else is leather and Prunella."

To Sir Walter Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 29th January 1889.

I hate troubling you with questions at this time, and any answer you may give will go no farther than myself.

It seems to me that whatever may be said in respect of the sweeping nature of the laws of '32-3 abolishing the Delegates, and transferring all their jurisdiction and final authority to Judicial Committee of Privy Council, the question remains whether the Delegates had jurisdiction of appeal from Archbishop's sentence. Because, if not, then what they had not could not be transferred to Judicial Committee.

The whole matter of appeal from a Court Spiritual to Judicial Committee seems to be part of Brougham's¹ admission in his place in Parliament in 1850.

If you can tell me anything about this, I should only state it as my own difficulty.

¹ "It was my Bill that constituted the Judicial Committee. It was I also who abolished the Court of Delegates. I cannot help feeling that the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council was framed without the expectation of questions like that (Gorham Case) which had produced the present measure being brought before it. It was created for the consideration of a totally different class of Case; and I have no doubt that if it had been constituted with a view to such Cases as the present, some other arrangement would have been made."—("Hansard's Parliamentary Debates," vol. iii., June 3, 1850. Appeals to Privy Council from Ecclesiastical Courts: Matters of Doctrine Bill).

To Viscount Halifax

7th February 1889.

I begin to despair of English Churchmen coming to apprehend that what is at the top, and in the middle and at the bottom of the strife is not Ritual, but the Doctrine of the Real Presence. I see something in the papers about some attempt being made at that most wretched of all things, a compromise, and am thankful to see that it has broken down.

I call it *in hac materiâ* a miserable and unworthy thing to have proposed or to have listened to for a moment, and am thankful to read that it broke down. Better suffer every extremity, a thousand times better than compromise so much as a hair's breadth.

To Sir Walter Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 2nd March 1889.

. . . Now let me add something upon what appears to me to be a very grave point—one upon which I wrote, Wednesday last, to the dear Bishop of Lincoln, after dinner at Gregory's, last Tuesday. Not a few of those present at dinner replied to his enquiry whether their opinion was that, in the event of the Archbishop affirming and carrying out his jurisdiction, he should accept the Position or go for Prohibition, advising him to accept. I, with one or more, wholly dissented from this advice upon grounds which I put into writing the day after, and left for the Bishop at Canon Furse's,¹ I think Thursday last.

I dissent with others both as to the contrary course advised, as in itself wrong, and also as recommended, mainly upon a ground which I hold to be quite below and unworthy of the matter in hand. I could not satisfy myself not to say so much as this to you. There is nothing that pains and distresses me so much as to find many from whom I had hoped for truer sense—(1) of what is at stake, and (2) of the manner of contending for it, fiddling before the door when the house is on fire.

¹ Rev. W. Furse, Vicar of St John's, Westminster, and Canon of Westminster.

To Sir Walter Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 8th March 1889.

I send you letter enclosed, because the writer is one of the soundest and wisest men in England. As we came away together from Gregory's dinner, we talked over what had passed there by way of consultation.

I felt sure you would not mind my communicating your concurrence in our joint judgment upon a possible stage in these proceedings which we alike think would be most disastrous all round if it were taken—I mean the accepting the jurisdiction of the present Archbishop's Court.

For myself, I am unable to see how it can be accepted consistently with the Bishop of Lincoln's ground of objection to it. On the other hand, who is to affirm it? Is it the Archbishop himself, assuming the function of deciding himself upon his own procedure so objected to and protested against?

If so, after argument had, it might as well have been left to the Archbishop to do without argument had. I did not know that the law made a man a judge in his own case as exercising the right of appeal in his own case. It reads very funny, but then "Law" has a good many funny things in it.

I pray God that the dear Bishop may not accept the jurisdiction. I think the whole argument of those who counselled him to accept was not only shallow, but rested upon a ground quite unworthy of the cause.

To Miss Caroline Denison

EAST BRENT,
BRIDGEWATER, 19th March 1889.

Always make use of my name for signature, or quasi-position, if you think it will do you any good, subject also to what you are willing to spare me, attendance. I should be out of place at a meeting about which, in its inner aspect, I cannot be said to know anything fit to present to the meeting beyond the general statement that "Virtue is admirable and Vice is odious."

All well and driving about when we can get rid of daily letters, which, like dear old Wolff's admirers desiring to marry him after dear Lady G.'s death, "are a great many."

Besides many clerks and unceasing superintendence in London, I have a first-rate clerk sitting in my room all day from ten to five, and incessantly writing and copying. G. is, and calls herself, "senior clerk"—a most capable member of the force.

I have cribbed an hour this morning to prepare the compost for my Gloxinia roots, to which, horticulturally, I now give my entire attention.

Not a stone nor a brick moved in all my dam walls in the Great Flood. You see there are a few in the world who are born Geniuses, and want no cramming in matters engineering. The only engineer who ever gave me a bit of advice I laughed at, and he found afterwards that I was right.

Dogs, turkeys, geese, poultry, send their respectful compliments; also horses. G. rejoices in the frisking capers of Puss, and we drive best pace—Weston in forty-five minutes' steady trot.

To Sir Walter Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 5th April 1889.

I am very loth to add to your work, especially just now, in any measure.

But in preparing what I shall have to say in May Session of Convocation in moving my Resolution, which will be seconded by Ainslie, I am naturally most anxious to be undeniably correct in matter of *law* and *fact*.

The paper ending with the Motion is published in *Guardian* of this week. You shall have it in separate sheet as soon as I receive the sheets from London.

When I have written out fair what I am minded to say in the matter of "Law of the Land" and of Authority constituting and regulating in respect of Doctrine and Discipline, may I send it to you for your judgment upon it as respects law and fact? I shall of course be most careful not to quote you for matter of law and fact, or at all, without your authority. What I want is to keep myself clear of stating anything which can be disputed as matter of law and fact.

To Sir Walter Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 17th April 1889.

I send you main substance of my speech so written as not to trouble you about reading it.

There is a good deal more of heads of argument, etc., which I hope to send you written out like this by next Tuesday's post.

I shall be very thankful for freest opinion and suggestion.

The burden of all this for so many months seems to sit heavy on me. But I keep very well—and so dear G., who is always my best helper, and says she is Senior Clerk.

Signatures to Declaration and Remonstrance keep pouring in—1430 to-day; daily average, 5 to 600 at least. I shall keep it open till after Whitsuntide at least; signatures now some 60,000; should have been at least 100,000.

I enclose also copy of my letter to Archbishop and Bishops, of 15th December, which you may not have seen, and an analysis which is passing through press, and is placed in Brooks' and Jenkins' hands for final revise.

20th April 1889.

Ecce iterum, I send you "Peroration of Speech," and another Paper containing "Hheads of Argument."

Since letter to *Times* published yesterday, the accession of signatures has been very large—several thousands down here, and this morning more than 10,000 from Lincoln Diocese, in addition to many from it already received. I suppose we reach now some 80,000. I call it very little for five months, but it is something, especially looking to the character and position of large numbers of the names, Clergy and Laity.

25th April 1889.

The work of receiving and tabulating signatures, both here and in London, day by day, is very heavy. This morning brings me, here only, 1736—eighty letters and more this morning. I shall state approximately numbers at Taunton; it must be close upon 100,000 now.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
WESTMINSTER, S.W.,
15th May 1889.

An interminable discussion to-day on the new Marriage Law,¹ and whether I shall even to-morrow find room for my motion seems not very certain. I find more favour up here than I expected, and I am told to-day that there is strong feeling in Province of York in favour of it. But it is not wise to accept this kind of information, and I am prepared to be much beat, if I am able to bring it forward now.

Very pleasant dinner last night *at* Gregory's; to-night, the big dinner *to* Gregory; to-morrow, Archdeacon's breakfast.

Very pleasant luncheon to-day at the Dean's. He is much more than kind to me, as indeed all are. To-morrow I dine at home and go to Lambeth. . . . People are struggling with heaps of difficulties, and I believe more and more that there is no way out of it but a recognition of the fact that the settling of these matters must be in and by a National Synod, which would go into not only the Ritual matter, but many other matters.

To Mrs G. Denison

THE ENGLISH CHURCH UNION,
1st June 1889.

. . . Came away from Lady Lyttelton's (very pleasant company of people and full of fun and talk, with Lowell, etc.) with one of them—I forget name—who said: "So glad to have met you, Archdeacon. Don't, perhaps, agree with you always, but you do hit so hard, and that's what I like." "Well," I said, "I've been at it some time now, but I haven't quarrelled with anybody, which makes it pleasant," and so we parted at the corner of the street.

¹ The promoters of the agitation in favour of legalizing marriage with a wife's sister, instead of merely seeking, as before, liberty to contract such marriages in the registrar's office, and in Nonconformist chapels, propose now in the Bill, which passed its Second Reading in the House of Commons on 30th April, that the clergy should be compelled to allow the churches committed to their trust to be used for the solemnization of such marriages, condemned though they are by the voice of the Church.—("History of the English Church Union," p. 332.)

THE ENGLISH CHURCH UNION,
1st July 1889.

Council just over, have been in Chair, very anxious feeling about position, have been entrusted to convey to Walter Phillimore the general sense of the Council to-day that, with view of preventing misconception of the Position, it is the general sense of Members of Council present, that when the Court meets again, 23rd July, it is most important that it be clearly understood that the Bishop, by appearing before the Court, does not acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court. I have felt all along that it was a great mistake both to consult privately other Bishops in a public matter, and to accept in any way the jurisdiction claimed by the Archbishop, and nothing makes me doubt soundness of these two conclusions. It is the old story, *either make up your mind before you begin to stand fast, or don't begin at all.*

. . . Have had Committee (Declaration and Remonstrance), and settled to close at Christmas.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION.

First matter of importance, the confirming Ainslie's scheme for a new Court of final Appeal, as voted for in May. It is the rule of the House that when a vote of the House points to Legislation as necessary to carry it out, the vote should be subject to Confirmation by vote of next following Session.

The debate promises to be long, and makes it uncertain when I shall come, or even whether again I may come in at all in these Sessions. I must wait and see.

Gregory has made a very excellent speech against the confirming, for which I am most thankful. I shall probably say something of the same character. For I believe, as I have believed all along, that there is nothing as once so impossible, and happily so improbable under the circumstances of our time as success in the attempt once more to reconstitute any Court of final Appeal. I shall therefore vote steadily against every such proposal.

The House is not strong, and is much given to contradict itself, and is therefore not much entitled to public confidence. It goes wobbling on, and will so go on, and I am about tired out.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
3rd July 1889.

I have just sat down after taking a course in speaking to Ainslie's Proposal for the establishment of a new Court of final Appeal, which has brought out the main principle of my published speech. And my negating amendment is before the House. Lowe¹ has spoken on my side. Sanderson² is also speaking same way. Ainslie is answering. I expect to be beat, but I have done what I could. The House is bitten with empty delusions, and appears to me to have taken the bit between its teeth.

5th July 1889.

Haven't been down here this morning, and don't know what the House has been doing. But plainly no time for me, and it is just as well, or better, that it should be so. It will probably be more in place another year.

The division of Thursday went to, as I and others believe, knocking on the head proposal and future proposals for new Court of final Appeal, and so far, was a great point gained.

To Sir Walter Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 24th July 1889.

A day for a white stone. 1. Exposure of "Minister,"³ difficult to say whether fraud or folly is most conspicuous in the attempt.

¹ Rev. E. C. Lowe, Canon of Ely.

² Rev. R. E. Sanderson, Vicar of Holy Trinity, Hastings, and Canon of Chichester.

³ The third point in the protest which the Bishop of Lincoln, on 12th February, made against the Jurisdiction of the Court, was that the word "minister" in the rubrics and in the Act of Uniformity, does not, and never was intended to, include Bishops. The Archbishop delivered judgment on this point on 24th July, in the following terms: "The Court finds no reason to hold that when a Bishop ministers in any Office prescribed by the Book of Common Prayer, he is not bound to observe the directions given to the Minister in the rubrics of such office."—("History of English Church Union," p. 323).

2. Lower House of Convocation of York have refused to entertain Ainslie's scheme for new Court of final Appeal by 20 to 15.

Lower House of Canterbury were beginning to come to their senses, and only escaped recovery by a blunder of a deaf member; the two divisions together have about disposed of the attempt, and I hope of any like attempt.

I have always thought our northern wits were bright, but I dare say Guil: Ebor:¹ does not indispose his subjects to be very careful about Episcopal views of Ceremonial.

I see report of yesterday, but have not had time to read it.

I hold fast by my reading of Preface to Prayer Book, *i.e.* by Paragraph in "Concerning Service of the Church" in all its comprehension, beginning "And forasmuch," conjointly with the fact that in Paragraph "of Ceremonies, etc.," there is not a word about how differences in matter of use of Ceremonies are to be decided, so that we are thrown back for such decision upon the paragraph in "concerning the Service of the Church," and therein to the Bishop's authority in matters of Ceremony in his own Diocese.

Does the decision of the Court, that a Bishop is a Minister, carry with it all that was contended for by the proposal to put Minister into the Articles?

It looks very like it.

To Sir Walter Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 27th July 1889.

All thanks—my anticipations are very much in same line. But I cannot quite concur in thinking that if Court at Lambeth goes against the Bishop, and states in so doing that it does this, wholly apart from Judicial Committee's Decisions, this would be any better than if it made the statement, in terms admitting the true authority of Judicial Committee, to decide in matters of Doctrine and Worship. I should say that it would make the position worse. I have long feared that the time is coming, if not already come, when this will become the settled position of Church of England in its connection with the Civil power—including

Most Rev. W. Thomson, Archbishop of York.

ing all Courts Spiritual—so that it will be the price English Churchmen will have to pay in Century XX. for “Establishment.” It is not possible for me to repose confidence in our Bishops when acting as a Body; nor again in the Convocations; and I am thankful to think, after nearly forty years’ experience of Convocational and Episcopal issues, that the time cannot be far off when I shall be no longer here to witness what I believe must come.

Meantime I have no words to say how thankful I am to God, Who has given us the Bishop of Lincoln to be our example in matter of true Discipline, Doctrine, Worship.

I have no right to assume that there are not many of us whose mind and heart are not quite alive already to what it is that is at stake. But, as yet, the public signs of this, as far as can be gathered from “Church Papers” and their “Correspondence,” are not encouraging.

To Sir Walter Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 7th November 1889.

I enclose copy of Resolution, which I have had for some time under consultation.

That “a course of action” has imperatively to be taken by English Church Union at this time, appears to me indisputable, upon all its own antecedents, and the one true view of the Position asserted by itself and for itself from the first.

I am not thinking of the Council sitting in judgment upon the question of whether the Archbishop has rightful jurisdiction or not in the present case.

But, that having regard to the fact that his jurisdiction is not only impugned, but formally and publicly protested against, on the part of Bishops and Priests of the Province, any and every sentence coming out of such jurisdiction has no power at all to settle anything, and is therefore of no service to the Church, but the reverse.

That this is the position at present and in prospect.

Under these circumstances, English Church Union may not wait for such sentence, whatever it may be, and must proceed forthwith to reaffirm its own position, wholly independently of such sentence, whatever its character may be.

For the shape of such re-affirmation, I have it all ready
Please preserve this letter.

The Resolution will be given notice of at first re-assembling of English Church Union on Tuesday 12th. I move Resolution 26th November.

To Sir Walter Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 12th November 1889.

I am not asking English Church Union, or any one, to sit in judgment upon whether the jurisdiction be sound or not.

This is a question for a National Synod only to decide for the Church.

I am dealing with present fact and certainly prospective fact.

1. Fact present.—Formal and public Protest of Comprovincial Bishops and Priests—"men of all shades of Church opinion."
2. Fact certainly prospective, that, in the face of these Protests, no section of the Church will accept Judgment as settling anything.

I am quite unable to understand English Church Union, in this situation of the case, keeping silence.

It has assumed to itself, as representing all Church Unions since 1844 (in the lack of any real and substantial Defence and Maintenance of the Doctrine and Discipline of the Church, by the Constitutional Bodies charged therewith), the charge of that Defence and that Maintenance by a Voluntary Society of Churchmen.

It cannot well or safely either for itself, or for the Church, wait upon events after the manner of a human Policy.

If it does it will certainly expose itself, and this justly, to the charge of having waited to see whether the Judgment of a disputed Jurisdiction be for us or against us, and will thereby peril its character for sound, consistent and straightforward action.

Upon the Basis, therefore, of Resolution setting forth fact present, and certainly prospective, I call upon the Union to re-affirm its position now, and independently of any and every judgment the Court may give, in the matter of Rite and Ceremony.

To Lady Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 18th December 1889.

A day of much slaughter—the head of Turkestan, Uncle John is gone, also Aunt Betsy. Uncle John sold at the low price of 15s. to the Turners.

Gander or goose, I forget which, but called Sam, has also died.

It was only this morning that I congratulated myself upon the amicable position to which he had succeeded with the elder swans: at that moment his death warrant had been issued.

G. mourns over Uncle John, and has kindest remembrances of Aunt Betsy, who, I am told, laid eggs innumerable.

Mary, at the gate, the fowl-warden in general, when G. was sorrowing over Uncle John, said, "What for should ye be sorry?—has died in a good old age. As for Aunt Betsy, there she has passed dead through the gate; nothing left of her to be sorry about—did her duty always."

We keep cheerful, but it is a severe day. Christmastide is clearly not a genial time for Turkeys or Geese.

To Lady Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 1889.

You are indeed blessed in your dear children and grand-children. Some day, when this work is a little lulled, it would be fine fun to come and look at you again.

Meantime my everyday life is this: I am down very early, with plenty to write and to do, quite as much for my share, if not more, as I have to do in London with all the staff about me.

By dear G.'s help and a very good Clerk, we clear up work day by day, but it is pretty tight, I can tell you, and my big letter-bag comes in and goes out crammed. People want a deal of teaching and the life putting into them, which, even with the Bishop of Lincoln to pull at their heart-strings, takes time to come.

But every day brings plain signs that the Land is waking up. . .



WELLS CATHEDRAL.

1890-1892

1890.—THE letters of these three years are mostly concerned with what was known as the “New Criticism,” and specially with the publication of a volume of Essays under the title of “Lux Mundi.”¹

These Essays were edited by the Rev. C. Gore, at that time Warden of the Pusey House. This circumstance gave the book a special importance, as the House, founded in memory of Dr Pusey, was intended to be a sanctuary for the Faith against the attacks of the free-thinking party in the University.² Canon Gore’s Preface and Eighth Essay were

¹ “Lux Mundi,” a collection of Essays edited by the Rev. C. (now Canon) Gore, then Warden of the Pusey House at Oxford.

² When the Pusey Memorial was begun in 1882, the Archdeacon printed a Letter to the clergy and people of his Archdeaconry, saying it was to be “an institution, the purpose of which shall be to help to the keeping unimpaired, and commending to young and old, the Catholic Faith of the Church of England, the most precious inheritance of the English people.”

considered by Archdeacon Denison to contain dangerous and heretical doctrine. The death of Canon Liddon, with whom in the matter of "Lux Mundi" the Archdeacon was in entire accord, came as a great personal loss in the autumn of this year.

The letters also touch on the Archbishop's Judgment in the Bishop of Lincoln's case.

Those of 1891 are full of the effort to rouse Convocation, the English Church Union and the Church at large, to realise the evils consequent upon the publication of "Lux Mundi." Archdeacon Denison, with the Rev. B. Compton, prepared a Declaration on this subject, which was published in the newspapers.

In 1892 the same contest prevailed, and finally, failing in his attempt to make the English Church Union see what he considered to be its duty as defender and maintainer of the doctrine of the Church of England, he sorrowfully resigned his forty-seven years' membership of the Union.

To Sir Walter Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 4th January 1890.

I am in very sad trouble and much correspondence in most important quarters about "Lux Mundi," and the great distress connected with it in its relation to the Pusey House, and therein to a general dislocation of the older and the younger Churchmen. I say this, because I like you to know all that is in my mind; but I cannot attempt to put it all into a letter.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
6th May 1890.

Have read Gravamen; all men most kind to me personally, and, as far as I can infer, not a few favourably, to what I have in hand. A full, but not a very full house.

This morning I have given notice of my purpose to move suspension of standing orders in order to enable me to move that the Gravamen be made *Articulus Cleri*.

If I fail, I shall then give notice of a motion that the House proceed by Committee to make enquiry into the Preface and the Essays contained in the Book called "*Lux Mundi*," or words to this effect.

I should also at same time withdraw my Resolution which has stood long upon the books upon a National Synod.

To Sir Walter Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 16th August 1890.

Beginning to write again slowly with right hand. In general health very well, but have to be very careful against chill, and confine my walking to garden and Church, where I preach small sermons in the morning upon the Collect, Epistle and Gospel for the successive Sundays after Trinity from a chair in the Chancel, and read Lessons morning and evening. We drive out as often as we can "this curious summer weather."

I find that at present home is the best place both for me and others, for in a small state even of crippledom, home is every way most suitable.

I had known Newman¹ sixty-two years, and since he left us, have at various times corresponded with him, and passing through Birmingham have always stayed to see and talk with him. I had preserved our correspondence with other from some great men, and one day in a fit of clearing off, by mistake between two big envelopes, threw that containing it all into the fire.

It included a letter from Newman citing Keble as often quoting in relation to "Church and State:"

"Mortua quin etiam jungebat corpora vivis,
Componens manibusque manus, atque oribus ora,
Tormenti genus."²

I don't think many people now living, if indeed at any time, know that this was in Keble's mouth. I could have

¹ Cardinal Newman died 11th August 1890.

² Virg. Aen., viii. 485.

told Coleridge some things about Keble much better worth knowing than what one finds in his life of him.

Looking at last *Guardian*, one thing surprised me much—I mean that in all the exaltation of Newman, so just and so true, there is not one word about Pusey, not even where all the credit of the originating, and also carrying out, the “Tractarian” movement is given to Newman in first leader. The “Communicated” inside the Paper seems to me very ably and closely done.

To Lady Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 18th August 1890.

I can report progress, but it is something like the race of the tortoise.

The Editor of *Church Review*, without saying a word to me, has made a public comparison between Newman and myself, for which I am sorry, and have told him so. I see it is finding its way into other papers.

The Editor of “*Lux Mundi*” has sent me his preface to Tenth Edition. I thank him for his courtesy, but add that I am sorrowfully compelled to say that I find nothing in the Preface to relieve me from the deep distress which the book has brought upon me, and that I publish my reasons for saying this.

I have done it in a letter to papers briefly. Argument between those who start from opposite poles is an absurd thing.

To Miss Denison

EAST BRENT, 12th September 1890.

. . . Two great sorrows, private and public, have come upon me this week—the deaths of Charles Wood¹ and of Liddon;² in both cases a never-failing hope and trust that death has been the Gate of Life overcome the sorrow, but it remains, as it always must here . . .

¹ Eldest son of Lord Halifax.

² Canon Liddon died 9th September 1890.

*To Lady Phillimore*EAST BRENT, 15th November 1890.

Gore's miserable heresy, with all its miserable attempts at "explanation" lives in my mind day and night, and I am at work day by day preparing to meet it in Convocation of 1891. The shape in which I lay my Charge went to my seconder yesterday, and, as soon as it is settled finally, you will have a copy in print. Of all the many contentions I have had to deal with, and which have gone deep, no one has so deeply distressed me as this, both in itself, and in the Apathy and Indifference in respect to the unflinching affirmation of the one Truth which has made so terrible an advance, especially in the last thirty years, in the English mind, Clerical and Lay.

I must do what I can, if God permits. I do not allow myself to hope for a right issue, but I dare not hold my hand.

In 1864, when I proposed and carried at Oxford the Declaration upon the "Inspiration of Holy Scripture and Eternity of Punishment," and Pusey with five others were with me on the Committee, the Declaration was signed by at least 10,000 Clergy, and when I presented it to the Archbishop, was acknowledged on the part of the Bishops with their thanks and distinct approval.

In 1889, twenty-five years later, Gore, President of Pusey House, denies Inspiration unless it be sanctioned by the "Literary Critic" of the present, and every successive generation. He is fighting the battle of human "wisdom" as against the "wisdom of God"—the authority of the Church of God.

I tremble for the coming Century, building up itself on the indifference and infidelity of this Century, and comforting itself upon false grounds. Please preserve this letter.

*To Lady Phillimore*5th December 1890.

I am sorry to be unable to join in the general chorus of gratulation. Nothing that has issued out of sitting of Court at Lambeth can, in my judgment, compensate for

the false position into which the Church has been brought and precedent established from first to last. I cannot bring myself to rejoice at issues where the foundation is unsound.

The "Judgment"¹ has, as I said from the first, settled nothing, could settle nothing, nor indeed tended towards it, but rather the other way. And besides all this, Rites and Ceremonies are a very little thing to me when set side by side with the misery that has befallen us in "*Lux Mundi*." It is, I suppose, the last battle I have to fight, as it is, under every aspect, the worst. All this I have said to Halifax and English Church Union. I regret deeply his Circular letter, and do not see how I can take any more any active part in the proceedings of the Union. It is becoming rather Conventional than Catholic, and is not true to its own principles.

So much then of this unhappiness. It is hard to write about, but there is no help for it.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
3rd February 1891.

A large house, all very kindly ; can form no judgment of what will be issue upon my Motion.² Shall presently read my Gravamen and send it up to Upper House. Have just given notice of Motion (all manner of funnily-worded motions about variety of things not bearing on me at all). Gravamen read ;³ going round for signature. I shall not be surprised if a good many sign it ; little things going on

¹ The judgment given by the Archbishop of Canterbury (Most Rev. E. W. Benson) in the Bishop of Lincoln's case.

² That his Grace the President be respectfully requested to direct the appointment of a Committee of this House to consider and report upon the Preface and Eighth Essay of the book, "*Lux Mundi*," as alleged to contain and involve dangerous error.

³ (1) That in the book, "*Lux Mundi*," our Blessed Lord's positive teaching in respect of the Old Testament Scriptures is limited to those instances in which our Blessed Lord Himself prefaced or accompanied His "teaching" by His own affirmation of its "positive" character.

(2) That in every other instance the book assumes it to be the right power and proper function of the literary critic of this and every succeeding generation to discern in the above-named respect, between

before luncheon. Don't know when my Motion will come on yet.

Hinds Howell¹ just been to me to say that hardly any in body of House sign Gravamen. I thought it would prove so, though some at High Table had signed it. It is still to lie on Table till the time comes for its being carried up by Prolocutor to Upper House, Hinds Howell having it in charge. I had never really expected that men would sign Gravamen, except a few. But it does not follow that very few will vote for me upon the Motion after hearing all the proofs. I think all has been done in right order.

It is one thing to endeavour to do one's duty, and another thing whether God see fit to grant success to the endeavour. The first is in man's hand, under grace; the other is in the hands of God. . . . I have not had much hope of succeeding. The issue is in God's will, and I have only to bow my head.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
3rd February 1891.

Spoke one hour, forty minutes—Hinds Howell seconded. Bishop of Colchester² moved previous question—Bright seconded. Debate adjourned; see clearly that I shall be beat. My aspect of the time is, I think, not present to many in any practical shape. Debate will probably close to-morrow, and I shall be free. I do not see that there is any more room for a man like me in the House. Answers, mainly a magnifying of Gore personally, and counsels of charitable consideration, amounting to ignoring or overwhelming all considerations of Truth.

the "positive" and the "non-positive" character of our Blessed Lord's "teaching."

(3) That such limitation and assumption (*a*) cannot be reconciled with the Holy Gospel; (*b*) that they tend to "beguile" and "corrupt" men's minds from the simplicity that is in Christ; (*c*) that they are irreverent towards Him, perfect God and perfect Man; (*d*) that they are contrary to the authority of the Church, as declared in the Sixth Article of Religion; (*e*) that they are contrary to the Book of Common Prayer and the administration of the Sacraments.

¹ Rev. Hinds Howell, Rector of Drayton, Norfolk, and Hon. Canon of Norwich.

² The Right Rev. A. Blomfield.

To Mrs G. Denison

LOWER HOUSE OF CONVOCATION,
4th February 1891.

All just over; amendment for previous question withdrawn; resumed on my Motion. The sense of the House very strong against proceeding by address to Upper House for appointment of Committee. I cannot apprehend what their grounds are for such sense, nor, so far as I can understand them, do they understand themselves. It is all so vague and shadowy. But the fact remains, they decline to ask for Committee.

All through, the expression and manner of different Members and of the House have been most courteous and honourable to myself—the Dean of Windsor¹ especially—but it has been very general and very strongly expressed.

It is full of comfort. But what makes me more thankful, so far as it goes, is this—that I think there has not been one of all who spoke who has not more or less regretted the publication of the book, many with particular reference to this part and to that of the book.

This is something to have got, worth all the labour I have expended upon the work, with all your precious trouble in helping me. I have, at least, got a strong expression of dissatisfaction with the book. It is something. It is not what I had a right to have. It is not what the Church at large has a right to expect. But it has been to-day as God wills, as it always is whether by warning and reproof for things done or left undone; something has been done in defence of the Faith, though it be a poor amount in itself from the loose state of the general mind of the English People—Priests, People, Bishops, Church People or not, all alike, and which it will, I believe, take a great visitation to make us all alive to.

To Mrs G. Denison

65 WIMPOLE STREET,
5th February 1891.

After all the great kindness shown me both days, and especially yesterday, on the part of the House and so many of its Members separately, and all the strong disapproval

¹ The Very Rev. Randall Davidson, now Bishop of Winchester.

I have been the means of drawing forth in the House, of the book, which, but for me, there had been no sign of any authoritative or semi-authoritative character, I find myself this morning with all the remaining spirit of the forty years' Convocation life gone out of me, and this with no prospect or hope of recovering it. Both Houses have, in my clear judgment, abandoned their first duty, and I see nothing worth having, and much better not shared in, by my taking any part in it again.

The courage in God's cause which makes men act as they speak in their special position as part of the living voice of the Church of England, is gone out from us ; it is thought wiser to live from hand to mouth, and to leave the first principles of the Faith in Christ to take care of themselves, saying always, with profound self-complacency, that God will always take care of His Church, whether or no His Church take any care of itself. I do not want to speak of this at all at home amongst ourselves, but I should be thankful H. and A. should read this letter, that they may know exactly what I think of the position. . . .

To Lady Phillimore

OSSINGTON, 7th February 1891.

My last bit of Convocation candle is burnt out, and I would not give sixpence for another bit, if it was to be had. I have burnt it for forty years, have set it alight by my own hand a good many times. It is all gone now, candle and wick. The change in respect of looseness of Faith that has come over men is very unhappy and startling, and has come in the room of all the living power of simplicity of Faith. If I had a hundred times the strength of mind and body that remains to me, I could not alter the downward course.

To Mrs G. Denison

OSSINGTON, 9th February 1891.

I have taken leave of the public controversy, in a brief letter to *Guardian*, in comment upon the Editor's most kindly remarks upon my speech and myself personally in

the first page of *Guardian* of Wednesday, 4th. I find only one misprint in his report—"text" for "test."

When he comes to the question itself and speaks of reverence, etc., for "the ascertained beliefs of the Catholic Church," he falls without appearing to realise what he is saying, into the pit which "*Lux Mundi*" has dug for Christian People to fall into, viz., the question it has raised of what are the ascertained *beliefs*?

"*Lux Mundi*" would have chief ones, ascertained from the first, and embodied in the formularies of the Church of England, done away by the New Criticism, and new beliefs imported into their room by the same hand. This is just what I am contending against; but it seems they shut their eyes to it, not daring to face it.

To Lady Phillimore

9th March 1891.

The summary I have seen of Gore's first Bampton Lecture, in which he appeals to Liddon as "exhibiting in his passionate faith, the nature and significance of our Lord's assertion of Himself," has a character about it which it is indeed hard to reconcile with Gore's own Essay and Preface.

He is full of words and thoughts, but his words are alike obscure and contradictory to an extent I do not remember in any other book I have seen which professes to look to a "revised faith," nor indeed I may say in any book.

He is a remarkable assumptionist—he is no logician—his thoughts run away with his language and his language with himself. Upon the whole, and taking into account all the special circumstances of the case, I hold him to be the most dangerous man I have lived to see.

If the feeling of indignation did not overpower the sense of the ridiculous, one would only laugh at the hardihood of Gore in citing Liddon¹ in his own favour.

¹ Canon Liddon, writing on Christmas Eve, 1889, to Archdeacon Denison, says: "I have tried to tell Gore as explicitly as I can how wrong I think his language, and how gravely the *assumed* ignorance of our Blessed Lord's Human Soul on the subject of the Old Testament bears on the true doctrine of His Person. As in the case of Theodore of Mopsuestia, it is the high road to Nestorianism."

To a Friend

EAST BRENT, 30th March 1891.

I do not believe that the state of mind, as I understand it to be, is "all talk."

I understand it to be (1) some general dissatisfaction with Ecclesiastical position. (2) with particular ministration.

Upon this let me say—That the question for the English Church, man or woman, when the mind is disturbed in this manner, is not at all, What use others are making or not making, generally or particularly, of the inheritance of the orders and the Sacraments, and of the whole Word of God belonging as matter of fact to them as Baptized into Christ in the Church of England—but is altogether, What use am I making of these things so far as I have them ministered to me?

We are not going to be saved by any action of ours based upon the defective or even quite wrong action of others. We are going to be saved by our own action based upon the inheritance we have received. It is not at all, in other words, by our impatience of others' life and conversation sending us away from the Church in which the Providence of God has placed us, but by our patience, our being ourselves "not weary in well-doing," whatever others may do or say, that we shall rejoice in hope at the last.

It is one of our chief temptations to let our minds dwell much more upon what we are persuaded is defective or wrong in others, than on what is so in ourselves. This has been at the bottom of a large amount of leaving Church of England for Church of Rome.

It is a snare of the Tempter. It is nothing else. It tends to the "pride of life" not to humility. It tends powerfully to losing sight of faults of our own in dwelling upon faults of others.

"O give me the comfort of Thy help again, and stablish me with Thy free Spirit. *Then* shall I teach Thy ways unto the wicked, and sinners shall be converted unto Thee."

To Mrs G. Denison

196 CROMWELL ROAD,
6th June 1891.

Still waiting for final conclusion on part of President and Council.¹

I have said so much as this upon their urgent proposal.

That upon their not moving that the annual Report be adopted, but only received—which is an open confession of the extreme difficulty into which they have plunged themselves—I will not move my Amendment, but will state in lieu of it that I give notice that, at the earliest opportunity I move in Council, “for Committee to enquire into and report upon ‘Lux Mundi’ in all its several editions.”

If I do not carry Committee in Council, I resign. . . . I see no reason to wish altered anything I have done in all this matter.

To Mrs G. Denison

11th June 1891.

Plot thickens.

Have told Council that I cannot consent to be put down among eleven other things for Tuesday, 16th, and that I must have Council specially summoned, and at least a whole day to myself.

I thought I must have gone to Cambridge to take council with Wood,² the most learned man we have. His letter saves me this. Also I enclose letter from Lord Grimthorpe in reply to one from me.

English Church Union is trying to shuffle out. I will not allow it to be done.

To Mrs G. Denison

13th June 1891.

An hour with Lord Grimthorpe; all agreeing as to poison of books, not caring much for any collective de-

¹ Of the English Church Union.

² Rev. E. G. Wood, Vicar of S. Clement's, Cambridge.

monstration ; rather on the critical line—the natural bent of a lawyer and of a man not building upon any “Church Authority,” or “living voice,” or any conclusions but his own, differing therefore, or rather reserving his judgment in matter of action, than at all opposing ; is to have a fair copy of my Draft which I was asked to draw.

From him to dear Berdmore Compton, a very different man, sound and true as a rock, quite with me, distrusts E.C.U. and other side also. Sees clearly that every one of us is imperatively called to do all he can ; full of sound material, and bent upon using it ; has small respect for the knowledge and soundness of the Clergy, and told me some curious things.

To Mrs G. Denison

15th June 1891.

Waiting here till near one o'clock for Wood ; compelled to make bulk of my course of action to-morrow in its substance without waiting for him. With all I can do, it will be a very painful day. My course appears to me all along to be unmistakeably clear and sound, and I hope that rigid enquiry will make this good to others. But its clearness and value will not take away the pain. I am quite well, and equal to my work, which is anxious and continuous, but does not tire me.

Council begins at 2.30 P.M. to-morrow. I think I told you that I had made up my mind to move to-morrow, and not to wait for any special Council. It would be too long and troublesome work to do this, and I shall, no doubt, to-morrow bring matters to an issue one way or the other.

To Mrs G. Denison

17th June 1891.

Council ended curiously, but on the whole best for me.

Was in Chair till Halifax came, made my statement of facts ; no speech. When my turn came about 3.30, placed evidence before Members on copies of enclosed. Hesitating speeches—men knowing little of facts of case,

and not unnaturally disposed to go with President, who, whatever might be facts of case, declared his absolute purpose of voting against Committee on general grounds of inexpediency, saying that he himself disliked much in the book, but, etc. On the other hand, as opportunity offered, I stood upon ground of necessary duty of E.C.U., as evidenced by its own Rules, and clear duty as E.C.U., in guarding and easing the Church of England.

I saw that men began to hesitate between us, and when debate had ceased, and it was about time for me to reply, Walter Phillimore got up and pleaded very earnestly for some *Modus vivendi* between the two sides. I asked him to put it into words, and here it is:—

“At the request of many Members of Council, and having regard to the fact that Mr Gore's Bampton Lectures were about to be published, the Archdeacon asked leave to postpone his Motion.”

I asked for a minute to consider, and said that I thought it would be commonly thought only reasonable that I should postpone, that I could not, from what I had seen published of the Lectures, hold out any hope of their satisfying me, but that upon the whole it seemed to me to be the right thing to do to postpone. Much cheering and clapping and shaking of hands.

There is one curious thing about the terms of the postponement: men are not very logical now-a-days; they don't stop to think, they assume.

The thing is that the words dispose at once and for aye of the plea of its not being the business of the E.C.U. to deal with “Lux Mundi.” They invite discussion upon comparison between it and Bampton Lectures before Council.

I pointed this out to Walter and others when I had realised it myself, and it was admitted by all of them privately. It scores a great point for me.

They say that Bampton Lectures will not be published till October.

Meantime I am going to publish in a little letter¹ to Archbishop of Canterbury, paper enclosed, with additions and necessary changes, omitting every word about E.C.U. and reference to it.

¹ “Brief analysis of ‘Lux Mundi,’ a Letter to his Grace the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, from George Anthony Denison, Vicar of East Brent, Archdeacon of Taunton.” July 1891.

To Mrs G. Denison

18th June 1891.

Bless you ever for all your dearest help and comfort. You will have heard this morning what I had no time to write on Tuesday.

It saves for the present the position of E.C.U., and will, I trust, ultimately save it so as not to require me to withdraw from it.

What I have hoped to do was not so much to effect that which might be of confessed service in these very loose and self-satisfied days, as to negative the imputation of principles of action wholly ignored and negatived on the part of a voluntary body which has constituted itself a defender and maintainer of the Church of England, but not abiding by its own rules.

As matters now stand, the only grounds remaining to my opposers in Council are:—

1. That Bampton Lectures clear the Editor of "Lux Mundi," of the charges against him framed upon "Lux Mundi," although not accompanied by any retraction of contents of "Lux Mundi" on the part of its Editor.

2. That Lux Mundi is not an instance of Rationalism.

It being manifest upon the face of the postponement of my motion, 16th June, that Council recognises the fact that under the Rule about "main objects," of E.C.U. as upon the general and primary nature of a Voluntary body for Defence and Maintenance of Church of England—discussion upon "Lux Mundi" has necessarily a particular place among "main objects" of E.C.U., and that the only two points remaining are:—

1. Do Bampton Lectures relieve us from what is objected to as wrong towards Church of England and the religion of Christ in "Lux Mundi," though there be in them no specific retraction of what is objected to in "Lux Mundi," and no withdrawal of statements there made?

2. That what is charged against Mr Gore as Rationalism is not Rationalism. The way to discussion and Resolution in Council upon these two points is now open under the postponement of 16th June. It is my duty to place this position before Council at the first opportunity after the Recess, being desirous of taking no one by surprise.

Please keep this letter as containing heads of future proceedings.

To Mrs G. Denison

BRIDGEWATER, 27th October 1891.

Went to meeting at 8 P.M. ; huge crowd ; was directed to platform with Ruddock ; platform nearly empty ; received with many shouts, and sat me down in my chair ; was moved after by W. Poole to my place in front row.

The account of what took place is very simple and very clear. It was one more scene in the Conservative farce, devoted to the magnifying of the Liberal Unionists at the expense of everything almost which can be called Toryism. I am not sorry that I came, and all were glad to see me there, and kept thanking me for coming. I believe that, however impossible it may be to put things back again, no people have ever done that—it is a part of duty to your country to help to keep the traces of the old principles upon which it has been built up and prospered, under God, as long alive as you can. It ends in all peoples alike. It has been, and is not, so much love for the old principles, but a sense of some security in holding to them, and what is called the common sense of the English People, which has kept England from going down so fast as she otherwise must. But I can see nothing to justify the hope that she will really recover herself, and I doubt whether there is anybody who really thinks she will. Meantime, it suits Unionist Liberals best to have the power without the name of Government. They are biding their time, and it is coming.

*To Mrs G. Denison*THE PALACE, WELLS,
7th November 1891.

Found the dear Bishop—what think you? Going to Bath to-night to preach for Eardly Wilmot to-morrow morning, and coming back in evening. The energy and patience and cheerfulness combined are very wonderful. He has not seen the Bampton Lectures yet, but is full of Cheyne's Lectures, which dear old Stephenson is so utterly distressed by, and is unable to read any more of them.

To Mrs G. Denison

Friday, 13th November 1891.

All letters about my sermon¹ very welcoming and making no exceptions. I have not yet got proofs of it as filled up by me at The Coppice, where I inserted what was not there when preached for brevity's sake, but was much wanted to make it complete on every point, as a statement of chief heads of distress. Am naturally not a little anxious about to-day's issue, but am satisfied that Compton,² Goulburn,³ and I, are wholly of one mind. Meantime the darkness all about us thickens fast, and especially in Oxford and in some other places.

We are clearly come to a time in which Objective Truth is set aside to make room for Subjective Truth, that is in plain, not metaphysical terms, the Truth of God and simplicity of Faith is set aside for every man's "View" of what is meant by "Faith." It is the last step in the road to General Disbelief, and is, therefore, a most frightful and awful thing for man to look upon. It hides itself under the plausibility and sentimentality of the time, which swallows it greedily in its ten thousand shapes more and more from day to day.

I am forced to think that Clergy and Laity are alike bitten with it, and there are reasons for thinking that it is the Clergy more than the Laity who are the victims of the poison. I cannot shake off the horror of the position. It is become an element of my daily life.—Pray for me and ever will pray, and God's mercy gives me strength of body and increased clearness of mind and loving thankfulness of heart to my great comfort.

On the other hand, after fighting so many times for the faith, this or that portion of it, I have come now to fight for the *sum of it*; and the weight upon me is, in its proportion, very great. God forgive me for very much, and help me to do what I can for His Truth among men.

¹ The Archdeacon preached four sermons on "Lux Mundi" in Wells Cathedral, on 10th May, 9th August, 8th November 1891, and 7th February 1892.

² Rev. B. Compton.

³ Rev. E. M. Goulburn, Dean of Norwich.

*To Mrs G. Denison**15th November 1891.*

Was sorry to find that in the press of work on Saturday I had no time left to write to you. My last letter was written Friday morning before we assembled.

Present. Compton¹
Goulburn
Randall. All Saints²
Bishop of Reading³
Sadler⁴
Carter⁵
G. D.

Two others had been invited to be present for primary consultation. Would have come if they could. It was quite enough for the purpose of discussing the two questions of moving at all, and the manner of it.

(1) Resolved unanimously to move.

(2) Considered whether, as Bishop of Derry,⁶ one of those not present, advised, that we should proceed by way of counteracting publication.

This was soon settled in the negative, I think unanimously. I spoke very stoutly against it as being, under all its aspects, not only wholly inadvisable, but quite beneath the nature of the position, and really playing into the adversary's hands.

There was a general, I think an universal, consensus upon this point, and we proceeded to consider word by word Compton's draft. In about an hour Bishop of Reading and Carter obliged to leave for other engagements; this left five at work. Some two hours later Randall and Sadler obliged to go, both of them deeply in earnest about moving, and most helpful. There remained Compton, Goulburn, G. D., the three originators, and we worked till 6.30. and then separated for the day.

2.30. yesterday we three met again to 6.30—it having been arranged that the Draft should be left with us to prepare and circulate to the other six.

¹ Rev. B. Compton.

³ Right Rev. G. Randall.

⁵ Rev. Canon Carter.

² Rev. R. W. Randall.

⁴ Rev. W. Sadler.

⁶ Rt. Rev. W. Alexander.

It is drawn as closely and as tersely as we could make it, and is a brief document, affirming and rejecting, for ourselves and for others who will be invited to give their names to it with our own when it is issued.

The first step to be taken early this week is to circulate it among the four who came to our first meeting. Then one of two things will happen—

Either the four will accept it as we send it, or they will suggest alterations in one shape or another. If accepted, it will be sent to certain others who have as yet taken no part in it, not having been invited. But with the view of inviting them now to join with us in it, and when their answers have been received, it will be published—but not with view to any general signature.

This point has been carefully considered and, I think, wisely determined. I shall see Compton again on Tuesday, when we shall have our work before us in private type, and ready for issue among those originally present; and I hope there will be nothing to prevent my coming home Wednesday.

To the Rev. Berdmore Compton

EAST BRENT, 12th December 1891.

Now that we have the experience of the very uncertain, and what I call loose, condition of many minds, I think I see clearly that what we had better have issued for concurrence would have been a Declaration upon the two primary and comprehensive points at issue, very brief and simple.

1. The Divine Integrity and Authority of "Holy Scripture" (Article VI.)

Second Sunday in Advent. Prayer Book.

2. The "unlimited" knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ in respect of the old Scriptures. To this I do not doubt that signatures would have been readily given. But I could not have believed that the poison had gone so far as it is clear now that it has.

I cannot like the addition of any explanatory note unless it were combined with specific affirmations upon these two points, and even then I think it would be better omitted. Indeed I think all those who have signed with-

out one word of objection would have cause to complain of the words that the first three names only are mainly responsible for the wording of the Declaration. I comfort myself with the thought that this will so appear to you. If we are to lose other names, let us lose them, rather than explain on what terms we might have had them.

It would damage us, I submit, infinitely, for it would cast a character of vagueness over the whole, leaving English Church Union, after forty-seven years of Membership of "Church Union," in the position of contending for principles which are its "main objects" to affirm, defend, maintain, and neither affirming, defending, or maintaining them all.

At least, let me say, for one, I will be no party to any such or like course of administration of a chief trust membership of Church of England. The time is come *aye or no*, and I have nothing more to do in it except to press it to a decision.

If I can avoid resigning Membership¹ I shall be thankful.

To Miss Denison

EAST BRENT, 14th December 1891.

I send you my three sermons. . . . We are very well, but find it difficult to stand against wind and rain.

Among other things to attend to week by week, I am one of the Executive Committee for relief of sufferers by flood in Somerset, and have to be at Bridgewater every week estimating damage £30,000. Relief fund at present something over £3,000—perhaps shall reach £5,000; compensation, of course, out of question; can only *relieve* to a limited extent; an extremely difficult duty to discharge to any general satisfaction, and the Executive Committee are responsible for the discharge.

Dearest G. has been collecting little amounts from house to house here, but our own people have suffered so much from the weather—though we are never flooded ourselves in this parish, except in one place of a limited character—that contribution is small.

¹ Of English Church Union.

To the Rev. Berdmore Compton

EAST BRENT, 15th December 1891.

You ascribe to me too much in your loving kindness. I repeat that the first idea of a Declaration came from yourself early this year, and that I did not quite assent to it, not having then considered its great exigency in the circumstances in which we are all placed, signers and non-signers alike. Afterwards the Goulburn correspondence began—I think with a letter to me from him referring to my position in the matter. It was then, I think—but my old memory fails me a good deal—that I suggested to him a resort of something of the nature of what you had proposed to me.

In the present very loose state of what the *Guardian* presumes to call “the Tractarian mind,” we have indeed great cause to give thanks for what we have been able to do. The issue is with God. We have, I hope, humbly done “what we could.” If we had not moved, the Evangelicals would not, I think, have moved. Judging from what Lord Grimthorpe said to me about its being our business to speak upon what one—presumed to be one of us—had published, that we ought to have been the first to speak. I could not deny this. I told him I had been labouring for some two years or thereabouts to get them to speak in English Church Union and in Convocation, and wherever else I could.

If they [the Evangelicals] had, they would have made it very difficult for us to combine with them—probably made it not possible to sign the same document.

My thankfulness is great—greater than I can say—that we have them with us. It would have been a thousand pities not to have had them, and I cannot help pleasing myself with the thought of the concurrence, where it is nothing more than the simple truth to say that “the Faith of the Church of England is at stake.” It may help something towards thoughts of Peace, if there cannot be Unity.

To Mrs G. Denison

THE COPPICE, HENLEY-ON-THAMES,
18th December 1891.

Declaration in *Times*¹ this morning; God be thanked, enabling us to do this thing. I am particularly thankful for Co-operation of the other great section of the Church of England, having long had this much at heart. Have written a long letter to Dean of Durham.² Don't think he knows much of all that is involved in, or rather is a part of, "the Gorian Heresy."

To Miss Denison

THE COPPICE, HENLEY-ON-THAMES,
19th December 1891.

. . . We advisedly did not send the Declaration to any Diocesan Bishop—it would have been out of place. They have their place in Upper House of Convocation, from which they are bound to speak in this miserable business by every consideration, but have failed so to do. We speak for ourselves, to deliver our own souls, and, if it may be, to help and comfort others. We also purposely limited ourselves to a small number of signatures of men privately invited to join. Goulburn, Compton and I, are the three responsible for the Declaration. The original idea came from Compton early in the year, not long after Lower House of Convocation refused me a committee to enquire and report. I accepted it not long afterwards, and brought in Goulburn. There were four others with us at our first and only meeting, 13th November, since then we three have worked the thing out. My special business has been to endeavour to combine signatures of prominent Evangelicals with ourselves in the signatures of a Catholic document, in the framing of which they had no concern. I have long had this in my mind as a primary thing to be cared for, and I have succeeded. It shows that when men have to contend for the foundations of the faith, they will, if they be true men, combine gladly and thankfully. The original meeting was on 13th November. After much consideration and correspondence seven came; after some three

¹ Declaration on the Truth of Holy Scripture.

² The Very Rev. W. Lake.

hours all had to leave. Goulburn, Compton, and I, remained, and have done all the work with some help from correspondence. The signatures are fully sufficient for our purpose. God help us to be of use and comfort to others. We could not rest until we had done what we could.

To Mrs G. Denison

THE COPPICE, HENLEY-ON-THAMES,
2nd January 1892.

Glad my letter to *Guardian* pleases you. My object in writing it was to narrow the cardinal points of complaints against the New Criticism. So long as these remain, it is impossible for us to bridge over the chasm that divides us. There is no way of reconciling, nor so much as adjusting them, one with the other. We cannot give up an iota of what we have declared.

I have no expectation that the "New Criticism," backed as it is by the prevailing impulse of the English Mind to choose for itself how much of Revelation it may accept, and how much it may not accept, will abate an iota of its pretensions. It may indeed be said further that "The New Criticism" has been, if not the original cause of the looseness of mind which has done more than all else to promote its substance and increase its extent.

We are therefore quite content to make no answer to anything charged upon the Declaration.

It supplies its own answer to all that has been alleged against it; we give no other answer—we have none to give. We decline to deal with what is matter of Revelation by God and faith in man, as a thing which has to be settled from time to time by man's criticism unto the end of time. We leave it whence it came and as it came, where it remains and will remain until the end come.

To Viscount Halifax

THE COPPICE, HENLEY-ON-THAMES,
20th January 1892.

A few last words of mine upon the subject matter of the vital difference between us.

All that has yet to come from me upon it will be said

before and to others also. Between ourselves, I need hardly say that the love so long between us remains ever as a thing wholly apart from difference of judgment, however irreconcilable in itself that difference may be.

I have, then, to bring the matter now pending between English Church Union and myself, according to Resolution of June 1891 in Council adopted, to its final issue as respects English Church Union and myself, and this as soon as it may conveniently be done.

It has been weighing heavily on my mind now for more than two years, and I may no longer delay in bringing it to its final issue.

In my letter of 11th January 1892, I have proposed to place the issue upon two primary and governing grounds of the "New Criticism."

This, then, is all I have to say, or mean to say, in private to yourself, or before Council, till the day come for resuming the discussion of June last.

I then accepted the Resolution of Walter Phillimore, seconded by M. Villiers¹ for postponement of discussion till after publication of Bampton Lectures for 1891—upon a special ground then and there stated by me. These Lectures have in no manner relieved the distress—rather they have both ratified and increased it. I therefore resume my position with this modification only, that I make it applicable to no person in particular, but generally to "The New Criticism." Less than this I may not consent to do.

To Viscount Halifax

THE COPPICE, HENLEY-ON-THAMES,
24th January 1892.

Pleasant tears come into my eyes in reading, and taking into all my heart your loving letter.

I know well that your own nature could not so speak if you did not know that I do not act from anger or from haste, but upon conclusions of duty from which I could not escape if I would—and this is a comfort to me such as nothing else could give. There must be much sorrow

¹ Rev. H. M. Villiers, Prebendary of St Paul's.

along with it, for the difference of judgment that is between us in a matter which is to me the chief private and public distress of my life. But God sends His comfort even here, and teaches hope for Christ's sake.

To Mrs G. Denison

THE PALACE, WELLS,
7th February 1892.

The Bishop came into the Cathedral just in time for Holy Communion Order.

He has not been there often lately. I am afraid that the left leg is beginning to suffer as the other, and I think I can see something different in his looks; but he is as cheerful and patient as ever.

He is going to confirm at Bridgewater to-morrow. . .

He tells me that he was much pleased with what I said this morning about Tradition, that it was exactly true and new to him, and of great importance in the controversy.

To Miss Denison

EAST BRENT, 7th March 1892.

You tell us many pleasant and charming things about the dear old home; we are so glad to hear them all.

My time in London is still uncertain, depending much on other people. I think it will not be very soon, for there are arrangements to make, and great differences of judgment and action which distress and weary me much. . . .

I send you my sermon, No. 4, as revised and added to. I find that many good authorities are much pleased with it. I have now to fight out my battle with English Church Union, and then I hope to be somewhat at rest, so far as the troubles of the time will let me be. They are great and many in presence and in prospect, both in Church and State, and I have been looking on them coming for some time past. . . .

To the Rev. Berdmore Compton

EAST BRENT, BRIDGWATER, 1892.

I abide by the exact terms of my Circular letter to President and Council.¹ If in Council I am assured that any change of expression is meant to express the same thing precisely, I am of course ready to consider it. But after two years and more time to consider and reconsider, I abide myself by my own words.

All vagueness I must guard myself against strictly. What others mean is not my business; my business is what I mean, especially in a matter like this. It is on all fours with our Declaration to deliver ourselves, quite irrespectively of what other men may say.

I must bring this matter to a speedy issue for others' sake as for my own.

To the Rev. Berdmore Compton

EAST BRENT, BRIDGWATER, 30th March 1892.

DEAR FRIEND,—Always helping and strengthening me, never more than by your letter just come, and most carefully considered throughout. In all its substance, in almost every word, it is plainly what we want. I had proposed to myself to speak upon the introductory matter, but it is every way greatly to be preferred to make it the basis of the Resolution.

I agree also entirely with you about omission of "Governing Positions" (or, as you have put it, "Governing principles"), and in respect of what is the Governing principle.

I will tell Roberts² that we have adopted his phrase, "records its protests."

I send back two copies of Resolution as I have touched it slightly.

Will you, if you concur in my small Amendments, forward a copy to Hardy? If you have anything to say upon them we will wait for one more post.

¹ In March 1892 Archdeacon Denison was trying to induce the Council of E.C.U. to move in the matter of "Lux Mundi."

² Rev. G. Bayfield Roberts, author of "History of English Church Union."

To Miss Denison

EAST BRENT, 17th March 1892.

You do so much work yourself, that you think of others who work also. The last fifty-two years of my life have been more especially concerned with *one thing*—that is, “the defence and maintenance unimpaired of the Church of England against all attacks from within and from without.” It has happened, that among many such attacks, the worst, the most insidious, the one most easily seducing souls into belief in themselves rather than the God who made them and has shewn them the way to be saved in Christ, has come all over England like a flood. It never is, never can be, never may be out of my heart and mind every day that I am spared to live. I had much better die than not so have it there—to give up time and strength to do what little I can against the desolation of its poison. If it had any other issue in me I should be only self-condemned. What little I can do, I needs must, at all and every cost. It is a great mercy that I have never known work of this nature do anything but help life rather than hurt it, so please be satisfied about me.

When I can no longer work as I am working, it is a sign that I had better give up the attempt. Meantime I may neglect no part of what I can do.

To Miss Lucy Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 21st March 1892.

Latin is, you see, a flexible and accommodating language, and to a naturally classical mind like your own presents itself in many coloured but always attractive shapes. It is very little really understood of English People, the application of the female mind notwithstanding. If men and women were better scholars they would be less eminently silly in thinking that every one of them is quite competent and ready to govern this country by him or herself in all particulars.

Catholicism itself in England is itself becoming Protestantism. There is no recognition of binding authority except every man's or woman's own opinion.

Now, in Latin *opinio* means nothing authoritative, but “imagination, belief, fancy, conjecture, supposition”—all these without any authority for any one of them. All is in the individual mind, and so we go on running down hill into the mud at the bottom quicker and quicker every day now, all through the last sixty years, slaves of opinion.

To Miss Denison

EAST BRENT, 3rd April 1892.

“Church Union”¹ came into life in 1845—forty-seven years ago. I was one of the first members of it, and have been very largely concerned in it. When English Church Union was proposed to be formed, I was in the Chair, in 1859.² It has from the first been established upon First Principles of the duty of an English Churchman, and to this day records these in the rules re-issued every year. The “Expediency” men want to throw the rules overboard. It is not possible for me to consent. If it is done, I withdraw from membership as I have done from Convocation after forty years’ membership. The burden of other men’s putting expediency in the place of faith must, so far as I am concerned, be carried by themselves. I will have none of it. When a thing is right, being a First Principle of united action, imposed upon a body by itself, it has to be sought to be affirmed by that body at all cost. Anything short of this is a mockery, and as I have never taken any part in such a mockery, but have done everything in my power to do to abide by the Principle, if I cannot carry such abiding, I release myself from membership with a body which does not so abide.

To Mrs G. Denison

16 CHESHAM PLACE,
11th May 1892.

All quite well ; not a bit tired, tho’ up late and early to dress speech into as good shape as I can give it ; am quite cheerful about being beat personally, but shall mourn

¹ *Vide Supra*, p. 7.

² See “History of English Church Union,” pp. 9-11.

on every other account. God knoweth how little I have deserved—if one can be said to deserve anything at His hands in His justice—and to be enabled to help this People in greatest distress is so much to grant.

Dear Compton comes for me at half-past twelve. He went to ordinary meeting yesterday ; we agreed that I was better not there.

To Mrs G. Denison

12th May 1892.

It is a heavy day to me, and, under God, your loving goodness is comfort unspeakable.

It was a curious scene yesterday. In the speeches and all the manner of all present there was what I could not mistake for anything but true care and honour for me.

It shook me much, not in my settled purpose, but every way else. I came away with Compton. As we parted, he said : " I must see you again before you go."

This morning got up early to write to Compton with the terms of my resignation of Membership.

When I woke this morning my mind had settled down that what I had to do was to resign Membership at once.

Thinking it all round again since, I see nothing else for it.¹

¹ On 11th May 1892, at a Special Meeting of the Council, summoned under Rule 71, at which fifty-nine members were present, Archdeacon Denison moved, and the Rev. Berdmore Compton seconded the following resolution :—

THE NEW CRITICISM.

"Whereas it is a first and main object of the English Church Union to defend and maintain unimpaired the Doctrine of the Church of England against all attacks from Rationalism from within ;

"And whereas the Integrity and Divine Authority of the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and the perfectness of our Lord's Knowledge in respect of those Scriptures, are so attacked by the (so-called) "New Criticism," and the Doctrine of the Church of England is therein and thereby impaired ;

"The Council of the English Church Union hereby records its protest against all denial of the Integrity and Divine Authority of the Scriptures aforesaid ; and against all affirmation that the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ in respect thereof was a limited knowledge."

The Rev. E. G. Wood thought it better to deal directly with the

To Lieut.-Colonel Hardy, E.C.U.

16 CHESHAM PLACE, S.W.
12th May 1892.

Words are best few when they convey a purpose very painful to have to convey, but one which may not be put aside.

After the vote in yesterday's Special Council, it is not possible for me to remain a member of the English Church Union.

I have therefore to ask that my name may no longer stand in the list of Members of the English Church Union.

The loving memory of all your great and never-failing kindness to me, with that of so many others, will never pass away from me.

Please convey this letter to President and Council. I should be thankful not to have any answer to this letter beyond the acknowledgment of its receipt.—Yours very affectionately.

To Miss Denison.

EAST BRENT, 26th May 1892.

. . . This is the last and most comprehensive of my many battles for the doctrine of the Church of England,

Book, entitled "Lux Mundi," instead of passing a resolution about "the Higher Criticism." He therefore moved as an amendment:—

To omit all after the word "within," in order to insert "In the opinion of the Council it is matter of regret that Statements rash and of a nature to unsettle unlearned people in regard to the authority of Holy Scripture and the Person of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, have been made in the Book called "Lux Mundi." The Council in recording this opinion disclaims any intention of calling in question in any way the personal orthodoxy of any one of the writers."

After a long discussion, the amendment of the Rev. E. G. Wood was lost by four votes to fifty-one.

After a long discussion, Mr Shaw Stewart moved and the Rev. Canon Bristow seconded, the following amendment:—

"The President and Council are of opinion that the questions which are supposed to be raised by the "New Criticism" are not such as can be discussed under present circumstances with advantage by such a body as the Union."

This amendment was carried by thirty-six votes to fourteen, and subsequently, as a substantive motion, by twenty-three votes to fourteen. In consequence of this vote Archdeacon Denison withdrew from the Union.—("History of English Church Union," pp. 358-9).

and I suppose must necessarily go on so long as I am spared to live. I have small hope about the issue, so long as I have to see it in, and meantime am unable to think that there can be anything but the worst issue—already come in large measure, and increasing every day, ruining souls by the thousand.

But I have said all I have to say upon it, and have sealed it by my severance from English Church Union, which is so blind that it does not perceive what it has done and is doing, condemning itself for unfaithfulness and helping to make others unfaithful to themselves—to say nothing of the Church they propose to “Defend and Maintain.” I have written my last letter and beg to have no reply. One makes feelings for oneself in forty-seven years, and does not find it pleasant to have them torn into little bits by others exchanging *First Principles* of truth for *Policies* of various kinds. To have nothing more to do officially with English Church Union is an immense relief to me, but I leave behind me, and apart from me, many I had hoped not to be so finally severed from.

To Rev. W. H. Fowle.

EAST BRENT, 2nd June 1892.

It has been a great loss to us, but there is abundant comfort in the sorrow.¹

We had best reasons to not only love with special love dear James, but more than to love—to reverence him, and these most blessed memories remain.

On the other hand there was enfeebled health, and with strongest desire to spend life in working for Christ, a lack of energy which made him shrink from undertaking responsibilities which he might probably, from experience, find himself not able to fulfil. I believe him to be in all respects ready to depart and enter into his “Rest in Christ.”

What words these are—beyond all our comprehension as I write them. The whole sum of Redemption cannot be known here.

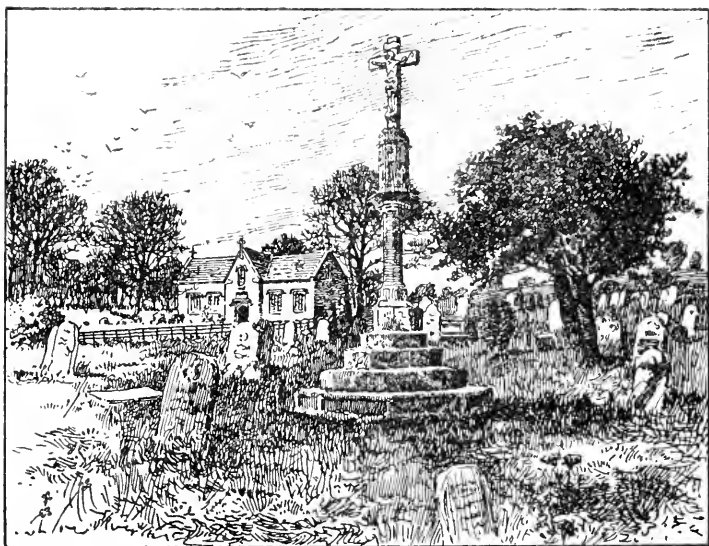
¹ Death of Rev. James Denison, younger son of Sir William Denison.

To Miss Lucy Phillimore.

14th November 1892.

Am immersed in writing and rewriting. I try to keep calm and peaceful, but it is very hard work with all its recommendations. It must be my last shell—it takes more out of me than I like, and I require strong beer to restore me to my normal condition. Here and there I have taken out a severe word—it is like having a sound tooth out—but it is curious how much it pleases me when it is done.

All the same, I doubt my being considered as coming before the world in a new character—indeed I may say I should regret this.



CHURCHYARD CROSS, EAST BRENT.

1893-1896

IN 1893 the Welsh Church Suspensory Bill was introduced in the House of Commons, and the Archdeacon threw himself heartily into all the meetings organized against it in London and in his own county, notwithstanding his advanced age and the disabling effects of rheumatic gout.

That summer, the Board School question, and "Cowper Temple Clause," stirred the Archdeacon to one more vigorous effort in the Cause of Religious Education, for which he had contended for fifty-two years.

In 1894 he was much grieved by the death of Lord Arthur Hervey, Bishop of Bath and Wells, with whom, despite differences of opinion, he was on terms of affectionate intimacy.

Later on his letters express much comfort in the appointment of Bishop Kennion to the See.

In 1895 Archdeacon Denison celebrated the Jubilee of his incumbency of East Brent, commemorated by the restoration of the Churchyard Cross, and by a special visit from the Bishop and Mrs Kennion, when the Bishop preached to a crowded congregation, and the aged Archdeacon, no longer able to walk, was carried, robed in his surplice, from his house to the church.

1896 contains but two letters, in which his strong faith and deeply-rooted patriotism shine through the suffering of a crippling illness and advanced old age.

He died on 21st March 1896, and was buried in East Brent churchyard, near the path to the school, so that, as he said, "his children's feet might pass by him." The service was read by the Bishop of the Diocese, and a great gathering of clergy, relations and friends followed him to the grave.

*To the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone*¹

EAST BRENT, 22nd March 1893.

One line of deepest thankfulness for never-failing kindness. With differences greater than I know how to express, I carry with me to the end the remembrance of it.

It would have been untrue to myself not to have sent you my latest book.

To Miss Lucy Phillimore

23rd April 1893.

Start again to-morrow for Dunster and Bridgwater. Monday, 1st May, London; Dean of St Paul's for Convocation *in re* Suspensory Bill.²

¹ Written in answer to a letter from Mr Gladstone of 21st March 1893, in which he said that although they did not agree in matters of opinion, he trusted that they had a deep concurrence in what underlay them. The Book referred to is "Supplement to Notes of my Life."

² Welsh Church Suspensory Bill, introduced 1893.

I stay in London till 16th May for Albert Hall Meeting.

What makes me more distressed and anxious than any other thing is the general *poco-curante* temper of the English mind about this summary disavowal of the constitutional position of the Church of England in the precedent proposed. I think we are about to reap the bitter fruits of two things—

1. The anti-Church temper of mind in England.
2. The refusal to hold fast by her Church.

I add a third and powerful element of fear, the claim of the intellect of the learned among men to judge and dispose of Revelation, every man for himself, and to subject to itself the mysteries of God.

My old age is filled with continual fears. All things are combining to produce a practical un-Churching, and the setting up of every man his own religion against the One Faith: "In the last days perilous times 'have' come."

*To Miss Lucy Denison*¹

65 WIMPOLE STREET,
17th May 1893.

Wonderful beyond words all the magnificence and solemnity of purpose and act yesterday at St Paul's and Albert Hall.²

And most moving to me all the kindness of my reception by Archbishops, Bishops, Priests, Deans, Archdeacons, and all the help and care given me all through.

Frisked a little at 17 Princes Gate about six; had few words there with Archbishop of Canterbury, and told him the day was worth a life.

Am wholly fresh this morning.

Broadbent incredulous about my being in my 88th year.

¹ Daughter of Sir William Denison.

² Great Meeting against Welsh Church Suspensory Bill.

To Miss Denison

EAST BRENT, 20th May 1893.

Not a bit tired, dearest G——, and all quite well. Saw Walter at Coppice. Dined and slept at Shiplake. Thursday evening in Chair at Bridgwater; most successful meeting; carried resolution without one dissentient voice; three wonderfully fine speeches; have two more meetings before me, one at Glastonbury, 31st May, the other at Taunton, 6th June; after that hope to rest a bit. Letters yesterday and to-day from laymen, old and young, thanking me for my little book.

Henry just come in with papers for me to sign as one of the trustees of St Raphael's, Bristol, Robert Miles's Church, which has been shut up under a controversy many years, and is now to be consecrated, 30th May. I must be there if I can.

The time stirs very many hearts; God be thanked for it. It was very dear and moving to me to have so many coming up to welcome me in St Paul's, and one dear friend took charge of me and carried me all safe in, through, out; so too at Albert Hall; God be thanked for it.

The rain has cheered and is cheering our hearts.

To Miss Lucy Phillimore

13th June 1893.

We keep up our hearts, thank God, among many whose backs this drought will nearly, if not quite break; but I fear much for them. They are more cheerful themselves, but this is nothing new.

I learnt long ago what a fine race of men the English farmers and real labourers are, but both are getting fewer in number under the self-stultifying temper and policy of this most unhappy time.

I have long felt that it was surely coming, but did not think that I should live to see it come. It has come in all its folly and presumption, and with it is a very heavy and ruinous visitation.

*Letter to Guardian of 23rd August 1893, with
some additions.*

POLICY FOR CHURCH SCHOOLS¹

SIR,—The farce of 1839-1840, "How to destroy the Church School," is finally played out, as was plain enough it would be from the first.

Up to 1852, it was played Gladstone *repugnante*; in 1893 it is Gladstone *adjuvante et imperante*.

A school of the Church of England, in order to its being assisted by Government money, has become not only not a Church school, but an anti-Church school.

This has been a consequence inevitably attaching from first to last to interference on the part of the civil power with the subject matter of a Church school, which is the teaching, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism," as being its primary commission and business, inasmuch as it is the nursery of the parish church. Instruction in things of this world only is, in its nature, a necessary, but always a subordinate, matter to the bringing up children "in the nurture and admonition of the Lord,"—"to learn and labour truly to get mine own living, and to do my duty in that state of life unto which it shall please God to call me."

The civil power of England has now for fifty-three years continuously and progressively—1840-1893—laid its hands upon the parish school, and made all assistance to it, on the part of the civil power, subject to its consenting to become a school of all religions and of none. It has thus violated the primary and governing principle of the existence of the Church school, and has confounded education for another world with instruction for this.

In this distress, which shakes the foundation of the Churchman's hope, Bishops, priests, and people have allowed themselves to make, as it is said, "the best of a bad matter," and have somehow satisfied themselves that it is right so to do. Now the making the best of a bad

¹ The Report of the English Church Union Committee on Religious Education, called general attention to the working of the "Cowper Temple Clause," in the Education Act of 1870, which forbade in a Board School the use of "any religious Catechism or religious formula which is distinctive of any religious denomination."—(See "History of English Church Union," p. 365).

matter may be done, and profitably done, in a matter of this world's life only. It may not and cannot be done in a matter not of this world's life only, but, first and distinctly, of the life to come. If done in the latter case, it violates the first principles of that life, and is unfaithfulness to God and man.

In my eighty-eighth year, having contended publicly for fifty-three years against all the action of the civil power in this matter, and having lamented deeply any concurrence of Churchmen with it more or less, having lived to see the words "Church school" superseded under "Church and State" by "voluntary school," I may not unreasonably, I hope, be allowed to say publicly my last word in this matter. I refer to documentary evidence, beginning with a correspondence with the Secretary of the Committee of Council on "Education," some fifty-two years ago, when I carried my point against the then infant scheme of the Committee, and some years after to a published letter of mine to Mr Gladstone, in 1847, when he concurred with me in principle, and to much other such evidence, showing incontrovertibly that all the substance of what I wrote and published then is what I write now.

GEORGE ANTHONY DENISON.

EAST BRENT,
BRIDGWATER, 21st August 1893.

P.S.—In reply to Mr Lowndes, 26th August, I say that a "Church School" subject to the "Conscience Clause," cannot be properly called a "Church School."

"Church School" means *only* a school into which no child is admitted but the child baptised, or being prepared for Holy Baptism.

G. A. DENISON.

To Miss Caroline Denison

13th October 1893.

Came home yesterday from three days at Palace, Wells, *in re* Conference.

Water coming slowly; will be long a-coming; all in apple-pie order for it. People about here first-class ignoramus about water—where it comes from, and of

course proportionately assuming as being fully informed upon it—a marked feature, like a nose in a face, of Century Nineteen.

By help of fall of trees to let in air, we propose to keep ourselves warm, whatever may come of the very miserable and fatuous and ruinous strike to all Classes—except the poisoning brotherhood who live upon the folly of the miners. When all the wood is burnt up, there is permanent residence in bed and extra blankets, and a light diet with much sleep.

So no more at present.

To the Rev. Berdmore Compton

10th January 1894.

The only excuse I can make for letting old year go out, and new come in without writing to you, is the indisposition to write letters at all, which, in my eighty-ninth year, is strong upon me.

I find myself also so full of abiding sorrow for our whole religious, moral, political, economical aspect, to which I am compelled to revert day by day, and so compelled to draw away into the solitude of outliving, and to the withdrawal from all public share in what is marching on so fast to its only possible issue, that, besides getting out to church three week-days and Sundays, and reading till I go to sleep, which is not long, I do little indeed.

Of all things that most disgust and alienate me is the *poco-curante* and indifferent temper—the “Oh, it will all come right,” which looks complacently and comfortably upon all that is upon us, and assumes we are going to be saved against ourselves from the one conclusion which is before us, without any effort of our own.

You know how I have been watching and anticipating all this for some sixty years, and now that I shrink every day more and more from the whole temper and manner of the time, but can *do* nothing to assist in opposing it, the blank is a large one.

It has to be filled up by the deeper and deeper sense of the mercies of God to those who believe and repent, and trust and wait.

To Sir Walter Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 6th March 1894.

All thanks for kindest and loving words.

I feel more deeply than I can put into words, that what I put upon public record some forty-seven years ago, but never looked to see fulfilled in my lifetime, has come to pass, and is spreading every day over "all sorts and conditions of men," both in respect of Religion and Politics in England. It began to be entertained more or less privately before 1832. It was put into its formal shape in 1832, but not developed publicly till 1840.

I began to contend against it in my own case at Broadwindsor, in 1840. I continued the contention up to 1847 at East Brent; then, and up to '52, Gladstone was not only with me upon the principle at stake, but was the man who first encouraged me to contend publicly against the "Policy" developed. In '52 he abandoned me.

What I anticipated in my published letter to him in 1847 has all come to pass in all the extravagance of Indifferentism, the Parent of Infidelity—both among Clergy of all Classes, and all other "sorts and conditions of men"—and grows fast day by day. I have lived to see it come, and to be working after its own worldly fashion in respect of the things of God; confounding the two, and giving to what is worldly the pre-eminence in "Church and State."

This is a sorrow with which there is nothing to compare, save only the sorrow for one's own sins. I carry it about with me day and night.

In all my absolute antagonism to Gladstone's Policy, I never forget his great personal kindness to me, even after I had made my first attempt to unseat him for Oxford, and again after that. In all that I have done against him, I believe he would admit that it has been only my care and love for the Church and State of England that has compelled my contention.

N.B.—Will you kindly preserve this letter.

To Sir Walter Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 21st April 1894.

I have this morning been going through the Local Government Act, in order to be enabled, so far as I may, to inform my people upon it. Will you tell me what "ecclesiastical charities" means precisely, *i.e.*, what it does mean and what it does not mean?

Last year £300 was left by a farmer in a neighbouring Parish to the "Vicar, Churchwardens and Overseers," for distribution (the income of it) at their discretion.

I was told—I think it came from the "Charity Commissioners"—that "Vicar, Churchwardens, and Overseers" was not a Corporate Body. I advised, therefore, that we waited to see what Local Government Act would say in such a case.

I got a letter from the lawyer charged with administering, a few days ago, not enlightening me upon the point of whether Corporation or not, but stating how much is coming to us.

What should you say I should say to my parishioners? and into whose hands should the capital be best placed?

The bequest had a curious origin.

The old farmer lived at Bream, close by the headland, Bream Down, near Weston-super-Mare. Many years ago, walking on the sands after a heavy storm, he found wreckage lying about, and among it a packet which, when opened, contained many Bank of England notes—to a large amount. These he appropriated, and, at his death, left various sums to his own and other parishes about, including East Brent.

I know I may ask you to advise me in the matter. I am proposing to get Churchwardens and Overseers together as soon as I can next week.

I am very well in health, but too much crippled by remains of rheumatic gout in 1890 to walk further than the Church; sometimes have to go in Bath Chair; other times on two sticks; most comfortable when in armchair by the fire. I hardly ever leave home now for many hours.

To T. F. Warburton, Esq.

EAST BRENT, 9th May 1894.

Your letter moves me much ; I thank God for it.

This is the second of my half-yearly Audit Days, and I have to sit some six hours among men, counting and paying. To-morrow I hope to be more quiet, and I rest upon my thankfulness that you have been moved to write to me. The Doctrine of the Real Presence holds the chief place among many controversies in which I have had to take the primary part since 1840.

If you have never read "Notes of my Life," third edition, 1887, it may be worth your while to read it.

It contains, among several other chief matters, the history of my trial in the matter of the Real Presence. The Trial lasted four years, 1854-1858. Pusey and Keble were identified with myself in the question and its issue. The object of the promoters was to arrive at my condemnation upon the merits. In reaching this they failed finally, in February 1858. It will explain its own history and the substantial breakdown of the attempt to overthrow, in my person the Faith, under Law of the Land.

To Miss Phillimore

EAST BRENT, 12th June 1894.

Your dear letter finds us in what is to me, more especially, a very deep distress—the death of our dear Bishop.¹ Sorrow and anxiety for what is probably before us, and many things to attend to and arrange, make my words very few.

It is not easy to conceive the destitution which is coming up faster every day in England, nor the mad folly with which those who should most warn against it give themselves to foster and promote it. In all my long life I have never been so sad as I am now. Those who lead by name and position are leaders in the madness ; those who follow and cheer them are, at the best, nothing

¹ Lord Arthur Hervey, Bishop of Bath and Wells.

but a mob of foolish children, but still old enough to make their first point themselves at other men's expense. A course of holidays has taken the place of living and labouring to get our own living, and "Old England," as a wiser American said not long ago, having built up, under God, the finest empire the world has seen, is busy cutting her own throat about nothing, so much and so successfully.

The dear Bishop's death was like his life. How I shall miss him, publicly, privately, words cannot tell.

To Sir Walter Phillimore, Bart.

EAST BRENT, 1894.

We cannot be thankful enough for our Bishop.¹ He has every qualification for his office—of a very high character, a comparatively young man, and full of energies and power—the sixth Bishop I have seen administering the Diocese by himself or by proxy, besides many Helpers.

I had written to meet him on his arrival in London, to say how sorry I was to be unable to be at Wells to receive and welcome him. His answer was, "You must not come to me; I am coming to you." He came on his way back to London, and stayed three hours with me, telling me what was in his mind about bringing the Bishop into personal contact with every Parish in the Diocese. He asked me what I thought of it. I said that it was what I had been longing to see for a great many years.

He is already beginning a series of informal meetings with the Clergy of the several Deaneries. We are to have three: Taunton, Bridgwater, Dunster for my Archdeaconry in December—for Prayer, Holy Communion, Conference. I hope to be at Taunton, 11th December, which is the first day of my ninetieth year, and, if I can, at the other two centres.

With all the promise of the Bishop, it remains for the Clergy to take all the care of him they can. We have some 600 Parishes. To visit every one, confirm, preach, examine personally in every one, will take some 600 days—200 in each Archdeaconry, more or less, in three years.

¹ Rt. Rev. G. W. Kennion.

Now, if the Clergy will have the consideration to abstain from always being at the Bishop to come to them for a bazaar, or a new window, or a reredos, or any other comparatively unnecessary occasion, he may live under it, but it will try his strength and his time, as I think, very wrongly and most inconsiderately, and leave him with no manner of quiet and rest at all. I mean to put this before our gathering at Taunton.

My locomotive power is about ended, or nearly so, and I am glad to be always at home at night if absent part of the day.

We have had two great floods down my waterworks into village; water into houses, &c.; not a drop into this house, and no damage done to the works. Last year, after two droughts, and before rain, the water-supply never failed the people.

I hope to be present at first meeting of Parish Council, 4th December. But that will be, I think, all that I can do in it.

To Miss Denison

EAST BRENT, 15th January 1895.

My letters are little worthy of those written to me, especially your own, but I find myself having to sit writing a good deal, day by day, upon business ecclesiastical with the Bishop and my brethren. It takes much time, and I am glad when it is done and I can go to sleep over a book. There is no present symptom of any relief from my rheumatic disablement. In respect of leg, I am unable to say at all, or to look onward to being able to say it in the words of the inimitable Jabot, when pulling up his night-shirt at the side of his bed to have a good look at his legs, "*ce que lui rassure ce sont ses jambes.*"

G. says I must tell you that my stableman is my excellent morning valet. I could not get on well without helping hands, being always in fear of tripping up and tumbling down, which would be sure to damage me further.

In all other respects I am very well. The hymn is very beautiful. Let me recall another, omitted in all hymn-books that I have seen, but in the Prayer Book of

years gone by, and in every respect worth a very large number of those we have in them.

“Christ from the dead is raised, and made
The first-fruits of the tomb;
For as by man came death, by man
Did Resurrection come.
For as in Adam all mankind
Did sin and death derive,
So by the righteousness of Christ
Shall all be made alive.
If then ye risen are with Christ,
Seek only how to get
The things that are above where Christ
On God’s right hand doth sit.”

It has all the requisites of a hymn, exact scriptural language, grandeur, simplicity, not a word too much nor too little, and the cadence is lovely. Its omission is a sad sign of a decaying sense and power.

To T. F. Warburton, Esq.

EAST BRENT, 23rd February 1895.

Your letter has a great charm in it, full of truest confidence in a much younger correspondent. I am very thankful for having been of some use to you, and so long as I am spared, I shall always be glad to hear anything you may wish me to know. I am glad your work does not diffuse itself over too many subjects. The chief fault of what is called “Education”—but is only miscellaneous Instruction, bewildering rather than informing the mind, or steadying it—is that it very considerably ignores Greek and Latin in its proposed course.

Now Greek is the grindstone of the intellect—Latin is the whetstone; the one gives the edge, the other gives the polish. No worse mistake was ever made than putting anything else in their places; but it came to be done because the manner of teaching was so bad that the issue was in the vast majority of cases only a result to laugh at.

As for writing Latin verses, as a rule, for a school, I despise it more than I can say. I would a thousand times rather see every boy made to learn Latin prose every day, and be catechised upon it. It would leave its stamp upon the mind, such as very few, if any, instructives in verse-

making will ever do. Verse-making will always find out the few who can make verses. Prose Latin is a chief helper to best English, and a solid basis to build upon. If I had to begin life again, I should have a school upon these and some other principal bases, and keep it upon them. Might get some real scholars then. But scholarship is getting scarce, as we are now hovering about it and knowing less of it every day.

To Miss Denison

EAST BRENT, 13th August 1895.

Am obliged to put print in place of writing and enclose one of a great number of like things which G. and Lena are making into a book. This belongs to the Sunday before the public feast; on the Wednesday after, a very big gathering, a thousand people in a huge tent; a full report of all this, but I have no copy within my reach. Letters many every day; very cheering and full of cause for thanking God and loving man. The restoration of the cross in the churchyard comes in the autumn, the Bishop taking the deepest interest in it. Committee, twenty-five, coming to tea to-night.¹

To Miss Denison

EAST BRENT, 15th August 1895.

My kind people here are hard at work to commemorate our completion of our fiftieth year here.¹ September 5th, the Bishop and Mrs Kennion are coming, and there is to be a memorial of our fifty years. It is very good and dear of them, and moves me much.

To Miss Denison

EAST BRENT, 17th August 1895.

This morning brings me, among a shower of kindest memories, what I have been longing to have—a notice of

¹ Celebration of Archdeacon Denison's Jubilee at East Brent.

dear Edward, with his four uncles, in *Church Times* of 16th August. It goes into the book with all the others, and I write to tell you of it. I sit looking at Evelyn, Edward, William, and Edward junior, and lack the record of the last ; now I have got it. The number of notices that keep pouring in is wonderful—letters too, day by day, many known and unknown. The most exact form of what I said at the Jubilee feast, is what I said in returning thanks at the Jubilee feast, the mercy of God in giving me such wonderful comfort in my last days is greater far than words can say. Everything promises well for the restoration of the cross. It is all in safest hands, and having been naturally applied to by the promoters for my judgment of what the memorial should be, and having given my voice for the cross, I have done all that was mine to do in the matter. My choice was at once accepted, and all further proceedings passed into the hands of the Bishop, the Diocesan architect, and the Committee. I think it will be very beautiful, and the one thing best to be done.

To Miss Denison

EAST BRENT, 27th November 1895.

Birthday, 11th December, Wednesday ; just the nicest thing that could be to have you with us for as many days as you can give us. You will find us looking and being much as before—dear G., I hope I may say, none the worse for all her unceasing care and watch over me. For myself, it is more the progress of the disease and its power of generating discomfort and disablement than anything else. Pain, not great, but continuous, and disposing to do as little as I can help, and keep as near a fire as I can.

To Dean Lake

EAST BRENT, 17th January 1896.

Late in the day, but not without excuse of body, legs, arms failing, so that writing becomes a difficulty. All our thanks and much more, for the Inscription—for the deep

kindness of it, and for all the manner of its expression. The last stage of the cross has just been erected to-day. I hope and think that you will look at it as very beautiful, and that you will love, as I do, the power of the six words at the foot of the shaft :

Crux Christi
Hujusce Mundi
Unica Salus.

Some day, perhaps, as you go by, you will tell me that you would like to look at it and the Inscription inside the church.

To Miss Denison

EAST BRENT, 10th March 1896.

My life may be told as from 7.30. A.M. to 10 P.M. in an arm-chair and water-cushion ; 10 P.M. to 7 A.M. in bed ; the last not the easiest, the first sometimes not much troubled with aches—sometimes a good deal. Very easily tired with any business, otherwise not ill, but obliged to be very careful and sparing in eating and drinking ; very seldom getting out, shrinking from cold and damp, sleeping very often in my arm-chair, awake often in bed. I think what remains of it will never be otherwise. Dear G. is more than enough to comfort anybody day and night.

Weather does not seem to make much difference one way or the other. I am told I look very well, but it does not persuade me of the fact ; but I cannot call myself ill except from time to time.

Public position troubles me much—there is so little of principle and so much of compromise in it. After a long life of the first, and none of the second, I cannot welcome the second, or find any comfort in it or any room for comfort.

The Jameson¹ matter is a bad business, whichever way it ends. I have never seen anything to reconcile me to the authority at Bow Street twice declaring (as soon as the accused were face to face with him) that what they were accused of was as great a crime as they could have com-

¹ This refers to the "Jameson Raid" in South Africa.

mitted. He was not there to say this, there and then ; he was there—at least so it appears to me to be—to tell them what their bail was, and to keep order in the court while he did so ; for anything to come, that would be in other hands, one way or the other. I know nothing of the facts of the case either way, and don't think I ever shall ; however, I may be able to try. It seems a strange rule of life, I fear England will not do herself much good in and by it.

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